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Cornhill ROM THE SPIR. ourses on Govern-h John M. Speat, our Ballou. For Cornhill, Boston. o for \$1.00. WOMAN.

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THE LIBERATOR 18 PUBLISHED

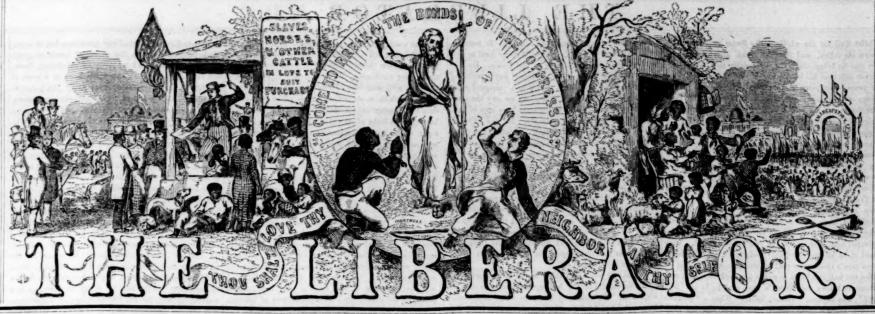
EVERY FRIDAY MORNING. STI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL HOBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

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M. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind,

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Union with Slaveholdere!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'.

Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding

ords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their

assent to the Constitution, three special provisions To

SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR

SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was

THE STIPULATION TO SUBBENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—an

engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal

o the principles of popular representation, of a repre-

entation for SLAVES for articles of merchandize, under

the name of persons . . . . in fact, the oppressor repre-

senting the oppressed! . . . To call government thus con-

stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of

riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial

majority in the slave representation over that of the

free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY

TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT

OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.' - John Quincy Adams.

nankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of

VOL. XXIII. NO. 21.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 27, 1853.

WHOLE NUMBER 1166.

ered at the Ninetcenth Annual Meeting of the Imerican Anti-Slavery Society, May 11, 1853.

[REPORTED BY WILLIAM HENRY BURR.]

Mr. Garrison, preliminary to the delivery of the regwill pardon the Chair for making a very few

te the help of God,' said an apostle of old, (as we the help of God, we are to this day.' The anti-slavery cause, in spite the opposition which has been arrayed against it, spite of 'principalities, and powers, and spiritual lness in high places,'-in spite of governmental and lawiess mobocracy, - still lives ! ' (apand, by its own inherent vitality, by its God-given immortality, it is destined to grow, and conquer, until all opposition shall be nd to powder, and the chain of every slave in and shall be broken, and Heaven shall give us a glorious jubilee. (Applause.) The Amer-Slavery Society again takes its rightful in New York among the benevolent anniversa-For the last two years, we have been compelled, lawlessness which has pervaded this corrupt bake off the dust of our feet upon it, and to go re, that we might be heard in behalf of the milof our countrymen groaning in bondage. Reel here, we were received joyfully and heartily by e people of Syracuse (applause); and the year ris, cordially received by the people of Roches-But we did not go to Syracuse or to Rochester arily. It was the only alternative presented. ver danger was to be found in this city, we were ared to look it in the face; but we could not obin a suitable place in which to hold our anniversary eting, and so were compelled to go elsewhere. This, ly submit to the candid judgment of the world, no discredit to the American Anti-Slavery Society: at it will ever redound to the shame and infamy of es York, that we could not be permitted to be heard vably in a cause so God-like as that of human lib-(Applause.) And we stand now just where we of before-with the same cause, the same clients, multiplied since we were here to the formi enumber of 200,000-with the same principles, same doctrines, the same measures, the same des, and the same glorious end in view. But where hose who said that we should not speak? Where, an occasion like this, is the "Union Safety Comtee'? (Laughter.) We find ourselves once more

dold John Wesley said, that ' the best of all is, God with us,' and that it is His cause which we have met far what man can do unto us. face we last came together in this city, many notatents have transpired in our country and in the l, bearing directly upon the great and all-absorbestion of American slavery. The three great chamof the slave system have gone down to the dust; dies are in the tomb, and their spirits have gone d, to give an account for the deeds done in the Where is John C. Calhoun? Where is Henry Where is Daniel Webster? All blotted out. is the anti-slavery cause to-day? In the ascendwith the song of victory in its mouth. (Applause

where they are, Heaven only knows! (Renewed

with a serene and courageous front, knowing, as

Vain is the help of flesh and blood; heir poup departs, their wealth and power and thoughts all vanish in an hour; Nor can they make their promise good."

ince we last met in this city, we have had the Balplatforms built and endorsed-rotten platforms, ber of which cries out with crime and bloodess. The two great political parties have passed

'finality ' resolutions-and what then ? The King of France, with thirty thousand men, Marchel up the hill, and then—marched down again. Laughter, Y We have also had the Fugitive Slave Law passed since came together-and what of that? Is the number ose who are trying to escape, and who are escapes than it was before? Why, as a specimen of at is transpiring around us, it was only yesterday at I read in the Voice of the Fugitive, a paper pubin Canada, of the arrival of twenty-nine slaves the lot, fresh from old Kentucky. (Applause.) They sed the river, singing a song of thanksgiving to , and are now free men, free women, and free chilfor there were the aged, the middle-aged, and ones, of both sexes. The Fugitive Slave Law has oked and horrified all Christendom; that has been result of it. How has it been treated in the free tates? You know what was done with it in Boston, in tase of Shadrach. The angel of the Lord intersel, and set him free, in spite of the edict. And igh it is true that Thomas Sims was carried off from weity, it is not true that the Government seized him is a fugitive slave, or that the law was executed in the resease of the whole people, in broad daylight; for afortunate victim was arrested under Massachustis law, as a Massachusetts man, as guilty of having smitted a theft, and in that manner was brought into the court-house; and then the building was surcanded with chains, and he was put on trial as a fugithe slave. And when taken away, it was not done in a presence of the people, in broad daylight, as the overament proclaimed beforehand that it should be; but he was smuggled out of the city just as the moon and down, and just before the sun rose up. This was

three of the Fugitive Slave Law, in the old Bay State, hr ever! (Applause.) You know what they did at Syracuse, in the case of 7. They said, 'The law shall not be enforced; it is a lawiess edict, an unconstitutional law; it is inhuman, unchristian, and God-defying; and, come what God helping us, it shall not be enforced, but Jer-2/ shall be set free. The word was spoken, and the ed was done. (Applause.)

ricually the defeat of the Government, and the over-

for remember how it was treated by the fugitives Co selves, in the Christiana case, where the slave. people in decision?

seen some victims seized—some in this city (of course, mass of the Church and those who stand at its head, in this city!)—seized under the law, and carried off men who are recognised as the great leaders and lights nto slavery. But the number has been surprisingly of American Christianity, have endorsed these docfew, and the law has worked mightily, under God, for trines, have scouted and sneered at the idea that there the entire abolition of the slave system. Thus, as one can be any higher law than that which man can make. of the results of the passage of that law, it gave us Literally, being done into English, being rendered into Uncle Tom's Cabin.' (Applause.) 'Uncle Tom's the vernacular, that is what they mean. Theodore Cabin' is making the tour of the world, and every Parker told us, last winter, in Boston, that he had oody is peeping into it, and crying out against the in-ustice of making man the property of man; and, as a Slave Law, only five or six of which, I believe, were irst instalment of European moral and religious senti-nent, we lately received in Boston a memorial to the res attached to it of more than half a million of the of God or not.

and that there is no support to be found for slavery in Speaker of the House, the President of the Senate, and any part of the world. I will give you a paragraph approved by the President of the United States, decreefrom the Charleston Mercury, the organ of the Slave ing that from and after the date of the passage of that Power of our country, in a pre-eminent sense : -

The institution of African slavery is every day becoming more and more isolated, and, by consequence,
the section in which it exists, and to which it gives
prosperity and peculiar characteristics, [very peculiar!]
s being gradually removed from the pale of sympathy
and intimacy with the rest of the world. Every where
lavery is denounced, and the slaveholder regarded as
in inhuman tyrant. What will be the effect of this
upon the permanency of the institution, and how should
t dispose slaveholders to their outside enemies? The
and the cars to hear, let him hear '] has certainly been for a
ong time on the wane. The last eventful struggle is of
resterday, and the results for ever condenned it to potitical inferiority. A wall has been built up around it,
and its vitality must henceforward increase rather by
the perfection and energy of its own internal organization for the earth, but fly off towards the sun; do you believe there is a politician, do you believe there

tances under which we are here assembled to-day. Alleluia! for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!

UND QUINCY, Esq., of Massachusetts.

SPEECH OF MR. OUINCY. MR. PRESIDENT: In your introductory remarks, you stated a truth which is on the lips of all the American cople, for all the American people are eminently a ligious, a pieus people. You said-what would seem to be axiomatic in the land-that 'our trust is in God.' I apprehend that our presence here to-day, and the whole history of the anti-slavery movement, from They only had to conform to the laws of the land the first moment that you commenced it, more than a core of years ago, are a proof of our trust in God. You, sir, have been called an infidel. The movement which has no faith in God, no trust in His power and in His truth. Well, sir, I should like to know by what element of human nature, by which of the ordinary notives of human action, your conduct and our con-Do you delight to be a mark for the finger of scorn to public reprobation and scorn because you like it? Do the American abolitionists delight to be in a minor- as they could at home, who had applied all the tests of to be in a minority? Why, sir, if there is any one characteristic which distinguishes the American people they then sought refuge in flight, in an honorable reof human nature—that characteristic is a delight to wim with the stream, to go with the multitude, whether to do evil or to do good—generally to do evil, but the course of a little more than two centuries—little dreaming that there was to be a worse than the Star Chamber, a worse than the Court of High Commission, sometimes to do good. Are we, sir, exceptions to that general rule of human character? I apprehend not. I conceive that we have not stood up for twenty years in the face of the American people, and given them the lie—that we have not stood up and denied their love of liberty, their faith in the late of the American people, and given them the lie—that we have not stood up and denied their love of liberty, their faith in the late of the measured, to be stretched out or to be cut short, according as the occasion might require.

President Pierce. (Applause.)

Why, what an extraordinary nation we are, Mr. either quietly, if he could not help himself, or resisting from of calling ourselves. We are not content with the revolution sprung; yes, sir, and that is the principal that in a course of reason, driving them to the field, taking that movement which, if it fail, the revolution was indeed a failure. The American revolution was indeed a failure. and of Christ, and of those truths which the American failure, if this anti-slavery movement do not march on Church and the American people, as a great body, be- to a triumphant success, and deliver this country from diverges that the spicable aristocracy, which now lord-nying to one sixth part of the inhabitants of the land the right to their own bodies, as well as wives, chil- are not the sword, not the helmet, not those marks by dren and wages, and condemning them, the Church it- which the aristocracy of the old world carries back the them the knowledge essential to salvation-we are not ancestors, but whose heraldric emblems are the scourge, content with all this, but we undertake to repeal the the branding-iron, the manacle. This aristocracy, everlasting laws of God. In this remote corner of the numbering not more than 120,000, including women universe-on this planet which forms, as it were, the and children, and not probably more than 75,000, innvisible dust of the vast creation, we pigmies and lilli- cluding merely the actual voters, governs with absolute putians, the tallest of us scarce six feet high, meet to-gether by our representatives, and repeal the laws of have had the impulence to stand up before the Czar of Him who sits upon the throne of the universe, who first Russia, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of bowled these planets for His hand, who kindled the sun France, and the other despots of the old world, and say, around which they revolve, and who powdered the firm- 'Stand by, we are holier than you !' (Applause.) ament with myriads of other suns like ours. We meet together and repeal the laws of God! Will not He who I am a good republican or not. I believe in the power

cople of this country against slavery, with the signa- make are obligatory, whether in conformity to the law

Suppose a representative in Congress should rise and omen of England. (Applause.)

Suppose a representative in Congress should rise and
Finally, even in the very stronghold of slavery, there dismay-a manly and open confession of weakness, gress should pass a law, and it should be signed by the act, heavy bodies should no longer fall towards the cen-The institution of African slavery is every day be- tre of the earth, but fly off towards the sun; do you be-

e perfection and energy of its own internal organiza-in, than by the expansion of its domain.' ican people, and, in a moral sense, defied them, denied their creed, trampled their commandments under our their creed, trampled their commandments under our Surely, this is cheering intelligence, and it is authen- feet, refused to acknowledge allegiance to those wicked ie, because it comes from an oracular source, and, of laws which we believe to be contrary to the higher law urse, is only coerced by the necessity of the times in of God, merely because we liked it; but we have done ur favor. These are some of the cheering circum- it because we thought it was our duty. It was the acquisition of the right of applying private judgment to public law that filled the sails of the Mayflower, and sharpened the sword of the Revolution. Why did our Mr. Garrison then introduced to the audience ED- fathers come to this land, if not to achieve such a state of things? Surely, they were great fools, Mr. Webster, Mr. Clay, Rev. Dr. Spencer, Dr. Tyng, and no end to the Reverend Doctors of all sects, being witnesses they were surely great fools to leave their comfortable parsonages, and farm-houses, and trades, and commit themselves to the stormy ocean, and plant themselves on an inhospitable coast, when they might just as well have staid at home. Why, what fanatics they were ! They only had to acknowledge the bishops and the supremacy of the king! There was no occasion for their encountering all the perils of the Star Chamber and requiring conformity. They lived very comfortably and pleasantly, just exactly as we are now told by priests and politicians that we might do, merely submitting patiently and quietly to the laws of the land, and carduct can be explained, if we have not faith in God? rying them out as they were intended. But that was not the spirit of the men of those days. They were be pointed at? Do you delight in being called, by the protestants. Reformers in all ages have been protestmemies or by the pretended friends of the slave through-out the world, an infidel? Do you seek to be held up ants. They have protested agoinst the evil which they test. It was a protest of men who had resisted as long ty? Is it the delight of the American people generally conscience to human law, and, having carried their from all the other nations of the earth—although it is treat, and planted their institutions here, little thinkherely an enlargement, a projection of a common trait ing what was to be the fruit of those institutions in

perty, their faith in their own institutions, and their Sir, we take counsel of Plymouth; we take counsel elief-in the possibility of a genuine republic-that we of the whole colonial history, which was one succesave not stood up and denied the Christianity of the sion of resistance to arbitrary power, and attempt to merican Church—that we have not unchurched the secure the control of their own happiness and destiny hurch and excommunicated the State, merely because in their own hands. The revolution began long before liked to be pointed at, and to be hooted at, and to Lexington and Bunker Hill. It dates back previous be hunted from one city to another, and, least of all, to the emigration—to the days when the English redecause we delighted in the tender mercies of Capt.

Rynders. No, sir, I conceive that the whole key to the haracter of the abolitionists was contained in that in- transferred the power of the Pope into the hands of the reductory sentence of your speech, that 'our trust is king. It was in these old times that the American n God and in truth,' because we know and we believe revolution began. It sprung from the principle of the that here is a higher law than any that Congress can right of private judgment applied not only to Scripture, mact (applause)—because we believe there is a Legis- but to law—the right of every man to judge whether ator who sits on a throne higher than that occupied by law made by man was in conformity with the law of God, and to obey it or not-taking the consequences, resident! We are surely 'a great people,' as we are it if he could. That was the old principle from which self being witness, to everlasting tortures, by refusing imagination to medieval times and to the deeds of great

sitteth in the heavens laugh? Does He not hold such a of the people to govern themselves. I believe the peo-

THE LIBERATOR. hunter was made to bite the dust. And so, every where, to be sure, there have God, but the vast body of the priests of God, the great booted and spurred to ride the rest of mankind. But will never die out. Other causes of rejoicing have I protest, that if the anti-slavery movement fail, and if come to us; but I purpose rather, in the brief space of I and my children are to the end of time to be serfs time I occupy, to look at some of the manifestations of and thralls of this insignificant, contemptible, base, pro-slavery. And I will not make an apology for speakdirty aristocracy of whips and chains, (applause,) I ing of political parties, from the fact that I am a wocannot but regard the American revolution as a failure, man. I need to make no apology. I believe in the po-and think that it would have been vastly better for us litical right of everybody, man or woman, not only to to have remained under the control of Great Britain to think, but to speak on this question. If a political this day. For if we must be governed by an aristocracy, I prefer an aristocracy of some eight hundred thousand (a constituency) to one of seventy-five thousand; and if we must have an hereditary aristocracy, I prefer one of gentlemen to govern me. (Laughter and applanse.) I do not like the people that govern me; I do

minds of men. What is slavery? It is the shadow themselves to return the panting fugitive.
which the selfishness of the American people casts.

In that month of June, when the Convention met

(Great applause.)

the fact will read strangely, as long as any remembrance of the Society shall be cherished) was broken Pierce by an overwhelming majority. asunder, and a large secession was made from it, on this single issue, because a female member of the Society who are proud to take your own little boys and girls on ation. Now, this Society has always recognised the plexion, to open his or her lips for those in bonds.

'Shall we behold, unheeding, Life's holiest feelings crushed? When woman's heart is bleeding, Shall woman's voice be hushed?'

If any woman desires to plead the cause of the enslaved, we bid her God-speed, and desire to hear what she has to say. I now have the pleasure of introducing to you Miss Lucy Stone, of Massachusetts. (Great ap-

SPEECH OF MISS LUCY STONE.

promptings of our nature, which we cannot, if we A slave fugitive father and mother, with their two

not like the aristocracy resting on ownership of human beings—a kind of oligarchy which our institutions have written out its creed—a creed so infamous that I never nade. It is a species of vermin which I think ought attempt to describe it, for I have no language that is to be exterminated—not by the halter, not by the guil- adequate—when it had put forth the platform, pledging lotine, not by the cane-knife sharpened to a point, not itself plainly and unmistakably to return the fugitive by insurrection, not by invasion, but by the bringing to slave, and when Franklin Pierce, in accepting the nombear upon it of such a force of public sentiment that it ination, said, 'I accept it, not because you expect it can exist no longer, (applause,) that will cause it to from me, but because it harmonizes with my convicabdicate, resign, throw up its prerogatives, raise its tions,' and when he had pointed to his career in Conslaves to a political equality with itself, and condescend gress, glorying in deeds that ought to have been his itself to a political equality with ourselves. self to a political equality with ourselves.

That is what we are trying to bring about; that is with that platform, then the people rose up like a cloud the object of the anti-slavery movement. And how do over the length and breadth of the land, and gave their we propose to do it? By changing the opinions of the suffrage to that man and for that party, knowing well American people and the world at large. Whence come what slavery is. The people who are not chattels, into institutions? Jesus Christ spoke a great truth when whose souls the iron of slavery has not pierced, know, he said, 'The kingdom of God is within you.' What as far as language can speak it, what slavery is; and are institutions but the projections of ideas? All in- those who acted with the political parties knew it. And stitutions are but projections of ideas existing in the yet, with their eyes wide open, they went and pledged

Change the substance, and the shadow will disappear. there were fleeing from the Republic, so named, and 'a Why does slavery exist in this country? Because the model Republic,' too, a mother and her little child, a American people choose to have it so; because they babe sleeping in her bosom. As she passed across the like it ; because they think that, on the whole, it is for State of Indiana, having got half way through it, she their profit and advantage; because they do not think dreamed that, having passed so far from the line that there is any great harm in it; because the best of them divides the non-slaveholding from the slaveholding suppose that, on the whole, the evils and inconvenience States, it might do for a woman, seeking her liberty and that would follow from immediate emancipation would the liberty of her little one, to walk at mid-day; and overbalance the advantages. Now, we know how so-phistical and absurd all these ideas are. What we wish she went on, hoping that she was safe. At mid-day, to do is, to change these ideas. And do you think that she was startled by the loud cry of the kidnapper b when the American people are determined to be rid of hind her, demanding that she should stop, and, if she slavery, they will retain it? Do you think it will exist did not, threatening that she should be shot on the inday after the American people have fully made up stant. That mother, instead of pausing at the bidding their minds that it is not for their advantage, or that of those who were pursuing her in harmony with the in some way or other they will be better off without Fugitive Slave Law, in harmony with the platform of it? I tell you, you don't know the American people as the Democratic party, in harmony with the convictions well as I do, if you think they will let it remain. The instant the American mind is fully permeated with anilatively truth, slavery will vanish like an exhalation and with hers, she ran with all the speed that fear could of the morning. That is our aim; that is the end of lend to her feet. The kidnapper, who cared not wheththe American Anti-Slavery Society. It is to apply the er they brought her back dead or alive, drew his pistol, light of truth to the human mind; to change the ideas and shot as deliberately as though the game before him Now which you incarnate—that movement which is known throughout the length and breadth of this land, and, indeed, throughout the civilized world, by your name—is deed, throughout the civilized world, by your name—is with it—that it is something which affects them, and scattered brains and blood upon the cheeks of that that they have a work to do. And as soon as we have mother, who, when she perceived that the little one had

created this public sentiment in this country, as soon found its freedom with God, let go her grasp of its as it is aroused (as it now seems to be arousing) in this hands, not to stop, as you, mothers, when your little country, as well as in other portions of the civilized ones die, to dress their bodies neatly for the grave, to world, (and barbarous portions, too.) when this circle of fire, which is already kindled, shall burn fiercer and brighter, and shall be drawn closer and closer around I say, but leaving it all unburied on the plains of Indithe scorpion of slavery, finding it can no longer live, it ana, that mother fled for liberty dearer than her lifewill, by a glorious and illustrious suicide, drive its and found it, thank God, on the shores of Canada; (apsting into its own brains, and curse the world no more. plause ;) no thanks to the Baltimore platform for it; (Applause.)

Such facts were being written in letters of blood all THE PRESIDENT-Our friend, Mr. Quincy, has stated over the Union, and the Democratic party knew it. at Theodore Parker had said, that he had collected They knew what was the root of the evil. They knew e hundred and fifty sermons in favor of the Fugitive what it was that caused the helpless mothers to flee out Slave Law, only some half dozen of which took ground of this Union. They knew it all; and yet Franklin gainst it. I think the remark of Mr. Parker was not Pierce and his party said, 'The Fugitive Slave Law lirectly in reference to the Fugitive Slave Law, but to shall be sustained, and we will resist all agitation the death of Daniel Webster; and that out of that num-ber of sermons that had been delivered, nearly all were woman, or child, shall open the lip against it: they in eulogy of Mr. Webster. The error on the part of shall be dumb; the heart shall cease to beat, and the our friend was merely technical-Daniel Webster hav- infernal system shall be allowed to continue.' And ng been the Fugitive Slave Law incarnate, and a little when the people knew that such deeds were constant. ly being done, not less did they rush to ratify what In 1840, the American Anti-Slavery Society (and their leaders had done. The voters of New York city

was placed on one of its Committees! It was deemed to your knees, and know that you are backed and protectbe so improper, so outrageous, and so unscriptural, as ed by law which is strong enough to guard you in any to warrant the formation of a new and hostile organi- emergency, when you knew that millions of fathers and mothers who have no protection are hunted like partright of any of its members, of whatever sex or com- ridges on the mountain, how could you do it? How could you go and give your suffrages for candidates that pledged themselves that every such father's heart should bleed, and every such mother should have her soul wrung with intense anguish? How could you do it? You know why you did it; I know why you did it. Will not your children's children find their checks tingling with shame at the remembrance of the deeds their fathers have done? (Applause.) The Whig party did just what the Democratic party

did. They had a platform just like the Democrats Nobody knew which belonged to which, they were so alike in spirit. The Whigs, what there were of them, To my mind it does not need the poet's utterance to and General Scott, freely gave their adherence to the ive woman a claim to speak on an anti-slavery plat- platform, and all went as far as they were able to acorm, while there are 'Casseys' scattered by thousands complish the same infamous purpose that the Democratical over this broad land; for, so long as their wail ic party accomplished. Not coming into power, the wing party escaped the necessity of being used as the keep silent? Whether we find in the pen of the poet, or tool of the Slave Power to do whatever it was bid. The any other source, an endorsement of our claim, we while party was not ignorant, any more than the Demochink we have a sufficient endorsement in the great cratic party, of what slaveholding was and is.

ould, hush.

The Anti-Slavery Anniversary, as it recurs year by during the very time of the campaign. The father and year, brings to those who are engaged or interested in mother had borne in their own persons all the cruelties it, a survey of what has come to give us cheer in the that slavery inflicts. They had endured, and perhaps year that is gone, and also what has come to show us would have continued to endure, its inflictions, had the strength and purpose of the Slave Power. Within there not woke up in their souls a new-born love of the the strength and purpose of the Share Fower. Within the last year, much to make the heart beat with highest little ones as they looked with mournful forebodings hope has come clustering in the way of the abolitionists. We have had new voices speaking, and fresh and friend-ly hearts beating. 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' strong and They looked upon that future, not as you look on the fuof the people to govern themselves. I believe the people are as competent to govern themselves as any of ple are as competent to govern themselves as any of ple are as competent to govern themselves as any of ple are as competent to govern themselves as any of ple are as competent to govern themselves as any of ple are as competent to govern themselves as any of ple are as competent to govern themselves as any of ple are as competent to govern themselves as any of ple are as competent to govern themselves as any of ple are as competent to govern themselves as any of ple are as competent to govern themselves as any of ple are as competent to govern themselves. I believe the people to govern themselves. I believe the people to govern themselves. I believe the people to govern themselves as any of plears that did not before feel one throb of pity, fulness, of honor, or of profit, may be theirs. To that

I slave father and mother, the future was one pit of blackness. There was no school-house for their children. Into the very presence-chamber of the Eternal, they would be obliged to go without a single ray of light to guidethem there. With their children they attempted to make their escape from your model Republic. They came trembling down the Ohio bank, on the Northern side. A man with tones of kindness told them if they were fugitives, they need not tremble so. They were on the soil of Ohio, and God's clear sunlight was looking down upon them, and yet they trembled, guilty of no crime, charged with none, unless it be a crime that there swells in the human soul that love of liberty which neither waters nor floods can quench. (Applause.) The man said, 'You need not tremble so; if you want to hide, here is an old boat under which you can go.' The father and mother and little ones went and hid themselves under that boat till the sun should go down, and the North Star come out. Very soon after they were concealed, a man who, in mockery of his Maker, claim-

ed ownership in the body and soul of his brother man, came. The villain that told them where to hide, had told the owner where they were hidden. He came, uplifted the boat, revealed the poor victims trembling before his gaze, and demanded their surrender. That father came out of his hiding-place, and did as most of you would have done. He put his wife behind him and one little one, and taking the other on his arm, with the other he fought with all the desperation that a man could, knowing that on the issues of that hour were hung not merely life to him and to his, but liberty and life He drove back his assailants. The men went over the river, procured helpers, and, with bowie-knives and pistols in their hands, they came back and attacked him, still standing with his babe in his arms. The pistolshots riddled the body of that father and his child, till they were literally a clot of gore. The father fell, exhausted by the loss of blod, the man-hunters pounced upon him and his, and while we are here in the city of New York speaking for outraged humanity, the poor man is where no tongue can speak in his defence. While this very deed was being done, and thousands like it, the Whig and Democratic parties were going up and down the length of the land, urging every body-except women, (laughter)-to give their votes for men who were pledged that just such deeds as that should be done, and done perpetually, and that we should not have Ohio, Indiana, nor one single State where a slave father or slave mother can stand and take their children by the hand, and say, 'They are mine,' And when the leaders of the Whig and Democratic parties were saying that, the men of the party were assenting and giving their sanction to platforms that they knew were ready to bind, hand and foot, and bury in eternal night, the last spark of liberty that should glow in the soul of any slave; and not only that, but to gag the mouths of any who dared to speak a word for downtrodden humanity, if they could hinder it. Thank God, they could not.

And while the political parties were doing this, the Church was lending itself an ally to the parties all over In my own State of Massachusetts, the Co gregational ministers met in that very mouth of June. O! how many deeds of infamy were committed in that month of June! The ministers of all the Congregational churches in Massachusetts met in Association at Lowell, and there came up to that body a man who had just returned from the meeting of the General Assembly of the Old School Presbyterian Church at Charleston, South Carolina. They had met where before them and all around them was to be heard the sound of the slave-whip, and where were to be seen the auctionblock and the slave-pen. They had sat there to talk about what? Those who help God's poor and oppress ed? About imitating Him who came 'to preach deliverance to the captive'? No. They sat there to talk about 'church extension.' The slave-gang marched before their face, and they had no protest; and when they at last adjourned, they appointed as a delegate to go and attend the Association of Congregational ministers, the Rev. Mr. Fitch. The ministers of Massachusetts, from Barnstable to Berkshire, met in Lowell; all the Associations were represented; and when they came to have their communion, according to their custom-when they spread their table and put on it the bread and wine to commemorate the death of Him who came to 'break every yoke and let the oppressed go free,' and when they wanted some one to assist at the breaking of the bread and pouring of the wine, they chose this very delegate, who had come with his lips all gory from that communion with slaveholders. And there he stood among the ministers, and performed his part, and there was not a clergyman there at that eeting who made any protest. And when I read in the Congregationalist the account of their meeting, I hoped to find in some part of it a protest; but there was none. And then I listened to Massachusetts pulpits, to hear if there should not come from some one of them, some earnest condemnation of his Christian character, or the Christian character of those who came from that union of slaveholders, but listened in vain. And as we stood back, looking at that sacrament with horror, and asked, 'Just God and holy, are these they who minister at thine altar-is this thy church which lends strength to the spoiler? ' and as we beheld them joining hands with each other and with religionists all over the country, and asked if this could be the church of God, they said, 'You are infidels.' But I can say to them, as Sallie Holley said, 'Let them call us infidels, if they please; but, O! don't let them call them-selves Christians.' (Applause.)

There is not time to look over the religious phase of what has come to us the past year. The support of slaveholding has been so open, that none of you can fail to see it. But while the Church and the Government take hold of hands with each other, and only here and there a pulpit remembers the slave, not the less shall we remember him. Let them brand us as infidels, if they please, we can afford to hear it. The works that we do bear witness of us, and, without abating one jot of our hope, we take hold on one side of the hand of Him from whom the Higher Law comes, and on the other, the hand of the slave, and we shall not let go the one or the other. (Great applause.) It does not matter to us if we are driven from one city, and find no refuge in another. We will still find human hearts to which we can speak, and hearts that can feel.

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whose baby is not hers. And when the father who lives back in the woods looks proudly upon his daughter, we will tell him of the father who cannot take care of or protect his daughter, and we will solder anew the link in that father's heart which binds him to every other father, and his arm shall be moved to be a co worker with us in this cause, which needs the cons crated energies of every son of Adam.

Lamartine said of Wilberforce, that 'he went up the throne of God with millions of broken fetters in hi hands, as evidence of a life well spent.' (Applause.) If we would give evidence of a life well spent, if we would be sure to do those things that will o to Him who is ' of purer eves than to behold injouity." fetters, and stand in the great day alongside of the slave, before our common Father, and let him bear testimony there, that to our faithful efforts was due the loosening of the fetters from his limbs, and from his spirit too. (Great applause.)

### SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I can say, with the utmost sincerity that, so far as the simple Anti-Slavery question is concerned, there can be no necessity that we should detain this audience at all. I can add nothing either to the testimony or pathos with which you have been addressed. I begin to think it almost a waste of time to spend either facts or arguments before an enlightened American audience on the subject of slavery, in this twentythird year of the Anti-Slavery enterprise. But at the same time, Mr. President, the motto of our organ in this city is, 'Without Concealment-without Compromise,' and you all know, as indeed the earliest speakers this morning have shown, that there is, in the peculiar type of anti-slavery which this meeting represents, a motto and a principle, from which not only the great majority of the country, but the great majority of the anti-slavery men stand aloof.

I read with pleasure, with more than pleasure, with a thrill of delight which words cannot describe, some of the speeches with which our excellent, faithful and eloquent friend, Mr. Hale, was received at the public dinner in Boston, (applause ;) and at the same time, it scenn to me fit that the tone with which that meeting address es the American people should be emphatically different from the tone with which we address it. They have, as they think, a brighter picture to paint. They are happier than we are, in this, that they can read the history of their country with pleasure, and can join in the usual adjectives and epithets of praise with which the great, heroic names of the country are received : we cannot They can call this a 'glorious Union.' May my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth before the son of any American mother, worthy of an American child, calls the Union which this speaker [pointing to Miss Stone] has just described, where a mother drops her murdered infant behind her, to be safe, a 'glorious Union.' (Ap plause.)

Two adjectives distinguish us and that class anti-slavery men who met in Boston, who stand in the Senate of the United States, and who serve the cause of the slave at the Tabernacle to-night. With them, the Union is glorious; with us, it is accursed. With them, the character of Washington is heroic. They love to speak of the beautiful symmetry of its proportions. With me, I dare not thank God who gave him to us, when I know that behind the sacredness of his example, thousands of 'Legrees' are hidden from the indignation of Christendom and this Republic (Applause and hisses-loud applause.) Do you suppose that the class of brutal slaveholders, to whom Mrs. Stowe has given a generic name, could ever have sustained slavery in this country to the year 1853?-do you suppose that profligate priests like Theodore Clapp, New Orleans, could drag slavery behind the altar, it it had not been sheltered under the magnificent reputation of Washington? No! it would have died, a hissing and a by-word, sixty years ago. But now, alas! it finds a Gardner Spring to dread his own prayers, lest he bring down upon his country the horrible result of emancipation. (Applause.) It is the good men of the country, it is the great men of history, it is the men who have in some sort a Christian character to boast, that are the guilty men in this great national iniquity. What are we, that we should go down and grope in the brutal wickedness of the plantation to find the defenders of a system like this? Shall it be said of the American people, that they could go to the lips of such men for guments in behalf of such a system of human wickness as that of American slavery? Oh, no! It is because Americans dare not call things by their right names-it is because we refuse to tear off these folds of acceptable and agreeable self-deception-it is bepast-it is because we spread a mist of beauty around the Union, praise it, and worship the idol we have made, that slavery is so strong as it is. Now, the mission of the anti-slavery cause, at least that portion of it with which we are identified, is, to tear off from this subject, in all its relations, the disguises of honeved words and agreeable self-adulation which the nation itself and its leaders have wrapped around it. It is an endeavor to awaken Americans to their own true po tion. Our words must seem harsh-of course they must, because they grate upon ears that have been listening only to priests that prophesy smooth things, and to politicians that would fain make their way with the

Our friends at a little distance, and in Boston, tell you that the Union must be preserved. It is organic, autocthonic; it is a part of the soil; it is a part of the blood; it is not to be spoken of; it is not to be debated : much less is it to be abjured. Now, what is it? What has it done for us? I do not deny that it has some merits. He would be a blind man that did. But Nero had his merits. On his tomb was found, within a few months after his death, a rosebush planted by some Roman to whom his life had not been unmitigated tyranny, and who could, perhaps, recall some our when even Nero made the burden of life lighter to a fellow-creature. And so, for aught I know-yes, I do know-there are some benefits connected with the Union. But the highest privilege I know of is that of free speech. (Applause.) Is there a man here that knows a better ?- to think what you please in obedience to conscience, and to be able to speak it? That is the best government in the world where a man can think noble thoughts, and act them, and not at the cost of martyrdom. Is that our country? The clergyman, with only here and there an exception, (pointing to H. W. Beecher-applause,) if he speaks freely, speaks himself out of his pulpit. Free speech in all professions is martyrdom here. The press, that lives on the public voice, and reflects it-what is it? Pro-slavery. Why Because to be otherwise is to be poor; because to be otherwise is to sacrifice every thing that common men does a blessing. Free speech for the priest, for the lawyer, for the statesman, for the merchant, and for the editor, is to be bought only in this nation of yours at the price of martyrdom. I have been laboring for some six or eight months up in the country districts of Massachusetts. I tell you, Mr. President, it is with pain that I have asked the tenants of those country pulpits to preach an anti-slavery sermon. I could not sit

of wealth, in a country where the sin of not being rich

see if, with all her economy, she can make the year's down at their tables, as I have done, with their chil- is only atoned for by the effort to become so. The end meet. No; we cover the South with the shield dren, without knowing, from the very tone of public counting-house is the great, the strongest, the most re- national protection. We pay for the army, for the sentiment in their villages, that if they obeyed me, they obeyed me only at the sacrifice of the bread of their children, and of the roof under which they slept. (Applause.) Slavery is planted in South Carolina. but it gags the otherwise very free lips of the Berkshire and Vermont pulpits, and that is your 'glorious Union' You have sent the representatives of your religion to London from the May anniversaries of this city. They go to the June anniversaries of London. They will be hissed there, and that is your religion. Why, we have Tom'? Do they stand by the side of the anti-slavery commerce and manufactures, and a consuming populato hear our very Christianity with a Bur. There is an American religion. It differs from the Christian.

Christ died for the whites. The Swiss walks up and I have not misinterpreted this country. It seems to down his valley, and dare not speak above a whisper, me I have not done so. Daniel Webster used to say, for fear he brings down the avalanche that hangs on that we owed our commerce to the Union. Do we either side over his head; and in this 'glorious Union' Long before the Union existed, Edmund Burke could say of yours, clergymen in New York pulpits, and politi-cians at Baltimore, tell you to to walk softly, and read clime and vexed every sea.' Men say we owe the manthe Sermon on the Mount in a whisper, lest it bring the ufacturing interest to the Union-the busy hum of New whole Union down upon your heads. (Applause.) A England and of New York industry. Do we? What do glorious Union'-autocthonic, part of the blood! We we owe to that weather-cock tariff, by which the South cannot reprint an English book without expurgating it.

Such is your literature. Your American Bible Society dare not offer a Bible in this very country to a man who has a drop of black blood in his veins. brute foot has trod it out so often, a sacrifice to so Your Sunday School and Tract Society dare not publish favorite policy of his? No! we should have been ern supporters. It is a 'glorious Union'! Thomas without the Union. We owe to this Union none of the Jefferson, they used to say, was an infidel. He took great blessings. We could have had them all by the the New Testament, and cut out those portions that dis- aid of the strong hands, good hearts and noble intellects pleased him, and called the rest his Testament. They with which God has gifted us, without the Union. It and men's blood grew cold at the blasphemy. But we [Appause and hisses.] blot out half the Bible to suit a hundred thousand men
South of Mason and Dixon's line, and he is an 'infidel' who objects. (Hear, hear.) What a 'glorious argument. We come up here, in these anniversary Union'! Men walk about, and dare not tell their hours, short and brief as they are, to speak a word, and, names-dare to travel only at midnight; to give a like the old Pythagorean sentence, it may not be unde fellow-being a crust of bread or a drop of water (wit- stood, or it may. It is a testimony-nothing more ness Thomas Garrett,) it shall make you a poor man, a We go into the battle as the Norman went with his bankrupt. Verily, it is a 'glorious Union' ! Perhaps they are right in saying it is a 'gloriou

Union, whose right hand holds an oath to support it, who is taking office under it, who is part and parcel of it, is bound to that oath and to the establishment. The only platform that we think it decent to stand upon is this ; and this is our religion : Where there is 'neither male nor female,' [pointing to Lucy Stone,] where I feel bound to give you any argument. But let me there is neither African nor Saxon, [pointing to the col- reason a moment. You think I am a fanatic, to-day. ored men,] where there is neither 'bond nor free,' You think I am talking wildly and insanely. What is [great applause,] where, spite of all human laws, all Perhaps the Fugitive Slave Law was necessary. 'Neces- ministers believe the New Testament requires it. Nonsity, the tyrant's plea, excused the devilish law.' Perhaps it was necessary. My friend Garrison thinks it has not succeeded. It has. There is a sense in which plause and hisses.] Do you suppose one single Missi it has not succeeded, it is true. It has not kept the sippi sugar planter will keep his slaves on the plantaslave on the plantation. Nor has it taken up the rails of the underground railroad. [Applause.] It has not crushed the glorious inconsistency of the Free Soil party, which holds up its right hand to swear to support the Constitution, and with its left holds a pietol to shield the slave. It has not done either of these things. but this it has done: it has carried terror into five hun dred houses in the city of Boston, where from twenty to twenty-five years has dwelt in safety, many a fugitive from the dark and wicked institution. It has separated parent and child, husband and wife, perhaps Commissioners have sent back. But how many have fled, from fear of arrest? A fortnight ago, one hopeless man escaped to Canada, but before the good news pense. Who shall count the number of such broken tested by the number of those arrested under it. It and Edwards, and Hopkins, and Channing have h is to be tested by the number of those whose lives have queathed to us, is a Christianity which does not veil it been wrecked by it without the knowledge of the courts. for it has crushed in many pulpits the rising sense of anti-slavery responsibility, and brought it again in subsitizen to wicked laws, and to a Union which binds any necessity, however great. them up as an integral part of itself. The Fugitive All our discussion on the Fugitive Slave Law was Slave Law is no occasional, no temporary expedient. It is the foundation stone of this Union. When we would picture the Greek, how do we paint him? With The Rev. Dr. Rogers, of my own State (Mass.) publishais outline of severe classic beauty, and girdled about ed a sermon in which he told us it was our duty to obey by the remnants of the classic ages. And the German the Fugitive Slave Law, right or wrong, and that in so comes to our minds poring with his large glasses, with life-long patience, over the manuscripts of past lite- of Christianity. And when you open the book that rerature. And the Frenchman, struggling with a mad, cords that history, you find that the first Divine Master reckless enthusiasm, for rights he can never use nor undied on the cross, and eleven of his twelve discipl derstand. England, the glorious child and first-born died violent deaths-according to Mr. Rogers-fr son of Freedom, every one of whose giant steps of pro- obedience to the laws! Rome is hollowed out, undergress marks an age-England comes to us in the name mined, by catecombs where rests the dust of Christians of Hampden and Sydney. [Applause.] When a Eu- who were denied burial above ground-according to Dr. ropean, either with his pencil or his pen, would picture an American, how does he do it? He paints him Christians and put them up in his theatre, poured pitch with a slave kneeling on one side of him, and a slave- over them, and set them on fire-because they were ou whip in his right hand.

revolver in the other, a huge loaf of bread in the left for miles on either side of them, eighteen centuries ago hand, and a slave-whip in the right. That is America! stood numberless crosses, and on each cross hung a All over the wide world there is no other coat of arms nor emblem of this 'glorious nation' of yours, except a law than that of Tiberius and Domitian! And this is slave-whip. Does it do us any injustice? You respect Christian learning in the city of Boston in the 19t your country. Which of the last eight Presidents do century, in the Republic of America ! Your 'gloriou you respect, and to which of them can you point, among Union ' put that voice into the lips of Dr. Rogers. the world's statesmen, and thank God that, either by the means by which they gained office, or by the fruits I dislike the Union. The reason is this: Because slavethey bore when in it, you are willing this country shall ry could not stand an hour without the Union; the slav be proud? Open with me the records of Diplomacy; masters could not keep his slaves without the guaranty what are they? At the court of Spain, in France, at St. of the Union against insurrection and against domestic James's, nothing but efforts, two-thirds of them, about violence. There never were 3,000,000 of slaves kent slaves! What is your whole history since 1820? An at- by 5,000,000 of whites in peace for sixty years-neve tempt to bulwark the slave system. What is our reli- Point me to the page of history on which such a fac gious, our civil, our literary history? We have but one stands—three millions kept in Slavery without an insur great State paper; it is the Declaration of Indepen- rection worthy of the name-nothing but that of Nat dence ; and in two-thirds of the country it is voted fus- Turner, in 1831. You cannot point me to any other tian. We have but one book—we never wrote one before—it is 'Uncle Tom's Cabin;' [applause;] and in Union keeps them. The 20,000,000 of pledged and every conservative newspaper, in every 'respectable' sworn hunters that people these Northern States of your pulpit, it is voted a libel. That is your Union. [A Union. ald. [Laughter and applause.] Claim no merit,- suppose so? I do not. A system of industry so was can cry over 'Uncle Tom.' [Applause.] An old aboli- mercial crisis over the North, and bankrupt our citi

slightest drop of his mother's milk is left can do that. her throw away her crutches and stand once alone, be purposes, the governing mind of the country is not in and navy to keep down more than one half of her or we have subdued an empire; if we know not how to we think we shall be ruined (laughter)! play the flute, we can say with Pericles, we know how to make the wilderness into an empire. That is the under the necessity of raising taxes for its own support, peculiar merit of the American people. Now, these and there must be a commercial and a manufacture of the American people. merchant princes of ours, all over the country, are industry upon which to base those taxes. We could no they anti-slavery? Do they report progress on 'Uncle raise thirty millions of dollars annually, if we had not question? Merchant princes—princes! pediers, who sell tion, out of which these customs come. But no such their principles before they sell their goods—[applause;] Charles Sumner says, 'Slavery is local, Freedom na- and worse than that, who do not stop to sell their prin- dle classes consume; and in order to consume, they tional.' Our Christianity is national-not for the ciples, but are willing to throw them in to make a bar- must work and pay for what they consume. world-for the white race, not for all climes. Our gain for their goods ! [Great applause.]

Tract with anti-slavery in it, for fear of its South- commercial, a manufacturing, an agricultural people, old it in all the 'Federal' pulpits of New England, hovers over us with nothing but curses on its wings.

leopard, the Bourbon with his Heur de lis, and the other great nations with their shields and coats of arms; The man who stands under the shadow of the we crowd our way amid sanctimonious piety, in the May week, to write on your walls the old mediate and Unconditional Emancipation on the soil, to be gained only by the re-organization of the Church But we wash our hands of it; we stand outside of it. and the disunion of the State,' and then we go away. and that is enough. We have borne our testimonyslavery? We come here to discuss what slavery is, and es, we will yield obedience to the laws of God. how it is supported. Some men think it exists 1 sense. Dr. Spring will pray readily enough for its extion when he loses money by them, in order to gratify Moses Stuart's exposition of the New Testament? [Laughter.] When the Kentucky slaveholders, the Clays, the Wickliffes, and the Breckenridges, find out that, instead of making them feudal barons of the State, slavery is driving them from office and honors, do you suppose they will keep it going in order to gratify the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions? [Laughter.] Find me the balance on the wrong side of the ledger, and I will find you scores of Doctors of Divinity to maintain that Onesimus was not never to meet again. Some number only those whom a slave. [Laughter.] No; the noblest sentence in our literature, I had almost said, was that of Patrick Henreligion to show that it does not sanction slavery.' It could come back, his wife died from terror and susthis American religion, whose professors cannot go from hearts? God alone. The law has scattered over the the platform of your anniversary and appear with honwilds of Canada, by thousands, men that were living in or on the June platform of London, unless they have a peace, and with successful industry, in our cities and change of heart in the interval-[laughter]-it is our villages. We sent off three hundred men, within six duty to show that this is not Christianity, and that the months, from the city of Boston. A law is not to be Christianity which the Puritans left us, which Winthrop, Christ before a hundred thousand aristocrats, or two The Fugitive Slave Law in some sense has succeeded, thousand millions of dollars, but which can originate jection to a lower law. It has not been met, as it should nation dies in the struggle-can originate and sustain have been, with a radical discussion of the duty of the a cause which thinks Right of more importance than

When we to the mere learning, if nothing more, of the country scrupulous to obey all his laws! - And you may ride out They sell a little image of us in the markets of Mexico, on the Appian and other ways that run out from Rome with a bowie-knife in one side of the girdle and a Colt's like the rays from a star, and history will tell you that,

hiss.] I do not misrepresent. There is many a man Again, look at it as a mere money concern. What that weeps over 'Uncle Tom,' who votes the Whig or keeps the South from being bankrupt? Could South the Democratic ticket. There is many a man that weeps Carolina pay for her own government? Could Missisover 'Uncle Tom,' and swears by the New York Her- sippi ? Could the other slaveholding States? Do you selfish devotees of a mean and wicked despotism, -that ing in economy that it cannot make the year's end meet. you have got a remnant of your mother's heart yet, and and which every four or five years has to bring a comtionist used to say, ten years ago, that it did not re- with from three to five millions lost, in that gap of our quire a Christian to abolish slavery; a tiger could do Forum-Southern Debt-which nothing but Northern it, if he were a decent tiger. [Laughter.] So I would industry can close up-talk of such a system supportsay of men who weep over 'Uncle Tom,' it does not ing itself! It is nothing but bankruptcy. South Carrequire an abolitionist to do it. A man in whom the olina talks bravely of walking out of the Union. Let You know, and I know, that the energetic mind of fore she talks of walking (applause). A State that this country is not in the pulpit. Our pulpits united, cannot pay her own expenses, and never has done it. and in a good cause, are omnipotent. But for ordinary let it undertake to stand alone, and support an army the pulpit. Nor is it in the editor's chair. It is in the population (for more than half are slaves in that State). counting-house. The energy, the ability, of this young, Let the whites not work-let three blacks be equal to growing, enterprising twenty-million nation, is in the one working white man, and remember she will need an counting-house. We are a mercantile people, made so by the wealth and splendor of the prizes in this lottery Let her undertake to stand thus in the nineteenth censpectable representative of the real intellect of the navy; we render it possible for the prodigal son to have

slaves, therefore, must be made mechan

word at some profitable employments-more profitable us able to bury any one of our great men but in tears. planting cotton there. And the moment you turn the men that we can stand up with an unfaltering brow. slaves into mechanics, the Huguenots of France are and hold out to the world as a statesman or a lover of upon us, with their love of freedom, and with their pa-tience and faith, to claim their rights. The blacksmith John Jay! the brightest, purest name in our history. bankrupts out from the shelter of the paternal home, olutionary times, to the glowing lava of a fresh enthuand let them, in the keen competition of the nineteenth siasm, when the world was in the fervor of a new con century, be made to work, and educate their masses. version, and trampled more easily under foot all earth Out of that education will there come rebellion and liberty. (Applause.) But we render it possible, by the girdle of aur national institutions, for the South to keep three millions of wasteful and ignorant laborers, irreproachable as then. I say it not reproachfully ; I in the very sunshine of the nineteenth century, and am an American—0, no, thank God! I am a Massa we cover them with our army and navy, with the unchusetts man. (Laughter.) Why, an American in Eu tarnished fame and unexhausted strength of New York rope is a walking apology, at the present moment and Ohio. Disunion turns them out to pay their own (A laugh.) Do I misrepresent? Have not all the ay that disunion is the slave's best hope, for it apologize for 'Uncle Tom'? plants on the side of his liberty the cannon of interest. walking apology for his Christianity and Republica ever enduring springs of character-those of making city of New York, but it is hard to meet it in the streets tation could no longer be kept ignorant and half idle, in Germany, a copy of the Boston LIBERATOR. A Ger but must be instructed, must be kept at work, as the man friend took it up, and saw the vignette on its im people of the Northern States are working; otherwise, print-a slave auction. He did not lay it down; he the governments must fail.

blot and curse of the British empire, if religion had not tion; and this Boston LIBERATOR was the orb of insp and warmth directly upon us. But it is because your upon has placed itself as a shield, in this nineteenth gize. O'Connell did not shake hands with an America

have no wish except to pronounce, once a year, in the peal to them, well knowing that American divines of city of New York, the words which mark the distinc- the other side of the water find new spectacles with ive character of this organization. You may laugh at which to read the New Testament. as now; you may ridicule our ideas now; but when the But I was speaking in regard to the American Union South has girdled the Gulf with slave States; when and I wish to close on that point. I say, this is she has reinstated slavery on the plains of Mexico; country which makes it almost the business of our re when she has bought or bullied Cuba into the Union ; views to explain. One of the Directors of your Amerwhen she has converted Southern California into a slave ican Bible Society-a Director, also, of the British and State, when she has grown so strong that she thinks she Foreign Bible Society-said to me, in the city of Loncan do without the North, and has no need of the coy- don, in 1841, 'Sir, I have to explain whenever I intro er of your strength; when by your aid she has extend- duce an American clergyman or an American Chrised her dominion until she grasps all sorts of territory, tian to a London audience; for,' said he, in explanaand thinks she can stand alone, then the proposition tion, 'the savor of American piety stinks in the no may come from the other side. You know as well as trils of British Christians.' (I use his very language.) I do that it is idle to talk of peace with the Slave Pow- And this is your 'glorious Union'-none of mine er. You know, and every intelligent man knows, as I would not acknowledge as glorious a country which well as I do, that this Administration will not go out of struck down free speech, a country which made it aloffice before the stars and stripes will float over the most impossible to be honest in the pulpit, a country capital of Mexico. You know that if money or any which made testimony for a man's highest conviction other power can do it, Cuba will be ours within seven equivalent to beggary, a country which made it impo years. You know that there is neither public opinion sible for great men to live honorable lives. When the nor religious principle in the Union strong enough to bury a great man in England, in France, in Germany, successfully oppose either. I met a Southerner, a Florthough his faults exist, they are at liberty, like the some told me that the plan was all cut and dried both for ity, to throw the mantle over them, and remember onl the acquisition of Cuba and the whole Mosquito coast; his merits, his good deeds. But with us, so flagrant and, being himself somewhat opposed to it, he asked are the evils of our great men's example, so great the me where the piety of the North was, that it did not work that lies before us in converting this nation, that oppose such schemes? He said he had heard of New the epitaphs of our great men must be warnings for England patriotism and New England churches, and he those who come after. We cannot enjoy even the luxu had thought that happily, possibly, something might ry of speaking well of the dead; for if we do, we fail emanate thence that would offer resistance to such plans of our duty alike to the living and to the slave. And of slaveholding aggrandizement. I told him of Gardi- that is your Union! I would fain place great men in ner Spring afraid to pray, of Moses Stuart with his circumstances where they will not be tempted to do ser anxious to get rid of his mother. (Laughter-applause service of our State comparatively honorable. It is a and hisses long continued.) For once, I have the private dishonor now to serve the State. I mean this. whole audience with me; some of you are applauding I have known a Judge of the Supreme Court go int me, and some are hissing Dr. Dewey (great laughter Fancuil Hall, in the city of Boston, and support the

and applause-no hisses.) that after the acquisition of all these States, we shall said, he had furnished a favorite servant, a fugitive ion-that Kentucky will abolish slavery, then Tennes- Slave Law he now publicly upheld! I call it private see; that Delaware, and afterwards Maryland, will fall infamy to serve a government where that or any thing away from the slave system, and thus, State by State, like it is necessary; and yet, how shall men stand bewe shall get rid of the institution. Suppose we do; fore their wives and children, if they practise at home suppose this prosperous event (as some think it) were the very lessons which they give to us from the forum to happen to us-that Kentucky shall lead the way, (Applause.) If we could change the image of slavery, and State after State shall get rid of it. You will then if we could blot out that black color which makes us have slavery dying by piece-meal for a century and a prejudiced against the slave, if we could call him by half; retreating southward and southward, so that, some other name, so that men could not point up to like the Dutchman's coat, what you cut off from the the picture of Washington and say 'that slaveholder,' collar will be put on to the tail. And this is to be your -if we could call slavery by some other name-call i mancipation, is it? On the other side, this is the piracy, call it adultery, call it robbery—then we should est picture that gentlemen hold out to us. It is begin to realize its enormity. But we have covered it the way old feudalism went down in France; it is the up with words to which we have become so much acway feudal institutions went down in Germany; and customed, from the times of our fathers, to see on the what did they leave behind? They left behind a pulpit page of our history, that we no longer feel it. If we bedeviled into servility to the State. They left behind could whiten all the slaves to-night, I could promise a puling and faltering statesmanship, that has never them liberty to-morrow. It is prejudice against the been equal to the crisis into which the nation has been fatal color that will not let our logic run straight. the intellect of France and Germany.

who blotted out her feudal system under the foot of Ol- disunion of these States, to remove the trem this great evil. Yes, and in the meantime, your count- ture and say, this is a Doctor of Divinity. He sta a land where the newspapers make Presidents; we live turn round and say, This is an American statesma and blesses us with noble men-as human nature is 1740, against teaching a slave to read, to an audien

than the rude toil of digging holes in the earth, and We have not a name in the galaxy of American great does not hammer on his anvil material iron alone, but I was speaking, more especially, of the present he welds the links of an argument that proves his own right to be free. (Applause.) I would turn these would be exceptions to my remark, you go back to Revdebts; and, therefore, as a mere economical question, as newspaper correspondents from Paris, Vienna, Rome mere competition between free and slave labor, I and London, told us that they had nothing to do but It puts his master on his side, in the very strongest and ism. (Hisses and applause.) It is easy to hiss it in the noney; and the consequence would be, that the plan- of Europe. (Applause.) I had once lying on my table, threw it down, with an intense expression of disgust,
You may think that when we talk of the Union and said, 'How is it possible that in your country you as a curse, we are talking functions. We are talking can have slaves?' I never shall forget the disgust that nothing but political economy—nothing in the world was painted on his face. It was a great disappointment but the coldest and lowest and most common principles to me, for I happened that very morning to have beer of the counting-house. Could England have kept Ire- reading one of the agreeable letters of Nathaniel P. land where she is, but for the ignorance which Catholicism entailed upon her? Could Ireland have been the kept her peasantry where they are? Neither could ration that I had to show my German friend. Yes, it lavery have existed in this country, had we permitted is easy to hise in the city of New York, but it is never the keen, intelligence-giving competition of the nine- theless true, that, in the face of Austrian newspapers. teenth century to come pouring its life-giving energy and Tory reviews, and Tory politics, all over Europe century, over this old relic of barbarism, that it now till he told him from what State he came. It is the ives, contrary to the expectation of men. It is a mere type of all Europe at the present moment. Thank uestion of dollars and cents, after all, and slavery, God for it! When we have no jury to appeal to here entrenched in self-interest, entrenched in dollars and when you turn your back upon us, American member cents, must be met with the same weapons of warfare of churches and parties, remember there are the glorious fifty millions on the other side of the water : they But I have spoken enough. (Cries of 'Go on !') I make up the majority of Christendom, and we can ap-

er, the other day, at Niagara Falls, who of the patriarch, walking backward, with kindly charscience and the Constitution,' and Dr. Dewey, vice to so foul a system as slavery. I would make the Fugitive Slave, denounce all the men that sit on this To the common apprehension, it appears probable, platform almost by name, and a little while before, it is

cast. They have left an intellect either dwarfed and I would, therefore, Mr. Chairman, break up all these stunted on all civil questions, or turned utterly aside to national arrangements, and make the conversion of the mere literature. This is the history of the religion and people. I do not believe it possible in the present case. I think, unfortunately, very badly of human nature. On the other side of the channel we have England, will tell you what my problem is. Unless you give m iver Cromwell; as one might almost say, by a single temptation from politics and the pulpit, my problem is act. (Applause.) And what have we for the result? this: We want men as disinterested as the Apostles to We have a national mind springing forward ever equal put down slavery. Every dollar that this nation makes to the task to which it is called. We have a church of is at this present moment directly or indirectly cor dissenters that have shrunk from no issue, that have nected with slavery. Our commercial, our manufac-taken up the slave question on one hand, and the abo-turing interests are connected with slavery. Our rislition of the corn-laws on the other, and beaten the ing cities of marble and granite are built in connection aristocracy and the throne on both. We have a nation with the slave system. We cannot war against two whose literature is the fountain-head from which all thousand millions of dollars without a very radical batliterature is fed on the subject of slavery. If we shall the. You have a Wall Street Union Committee. You ever abolish slavery, we owe it to the Hampdens and have Dr. Gardiner Spring in the pulpit, givingthe Sydneys, we owe it to the Cromwells and the men (hisses.) It is the strangest thing in the world, that who planted the religion of the 'Mayflower.' (Ap- when we speak of a divine and quote his very words, plause.) Now, your method of emancipation, however immediate it may be for the individual, is to be gradu-al—State by State. You are to tear away piecement hibition attendants, who stand before an American piecement. ing-house will be just as servile, your pulpit will be there with some such words as these coming out of his just as timid, your press will be just as prostitute. I mouth, 'If one prayer would free all the slaves, I want an act that shall make our newspapers fit to gov- should not dare to make it. And when we mention it, ern this country, as they now actually do. We live in you hiss! (Laughter.) It is no fault of ours. Then we in a land where the Herald is more than law. You he stands with his brow framed on a model of Godknow that it is a libel on liberty to say that we live in a like beauty, and out of his mouth come these words, land of law. We live in a land where the dominant 'Massachusetts! smother your prejudices,'-and the party construes the law to suit itself. I cannot take all Boston hisses. Where is the fault? We do not numan nature out of the world, but I would fain re- make the men nor the sentiments. What we want to do ove one gigantic temptation out of its path. Politics, is to render such sentiments impossible. It is not Nothing but bribery, with all the money wholly Daniel Webster's fault. God made him as good now on one side, and all the saleable votes on the other.
And your Northern politicians, what are they? They live by whispering at home what they are afraid to have heard at Washington, and whispering at Washington bubble of national repute and office, and he sunk under what they are afraid to have heard at home; and it is death to them when they are equally well-known at level, and boast of him and worship him still; and both places. (Applause.) Now, I would fain make it when we insist on standing up as men and saying, 'He possible for a Daniel Webster to be an honest man.
(Hisses and applause.) God gives us great intellects you hiss us, I once read a statute of South Carolina, ever noble-and we take them and cast them into the of Southerners, and they hissed me. (Laughter.) cauldren of these national temptations, and sacrifice asked them whether they meant the hiss for me or for them; and I hate this Union, because it does not leave their grandfathers. And now, every time that I have

alluded to Dr. Spring, you have his ence of such a monster is not my fault-je of the anti-slavery enterprise. (His Your pulpits and your counting-hou him, and it is to change these pulpits. houses that the anti-slavery caus hope to make men any better in their tion. We do not hope to give them, in ner's phrase, 'any better back-bones' had; but we do hope to diminish the a tation brought to bear upon the pulpit a and that is the way in which we intens tion. I say: Given-a Wall Street Cor Gardiner Spring in the pulpit, and the pri make out of such a school as that twenty men, equal in disinterestedness to the (Laughter.) How soon do you think it con These be thy gods, O Israel': one is the Board of Commissioners, and one is the So Union, repenting of having dared to print cob,' which they had had in their depot f years, and it happened that a dozen copi sent to the South. The clergy of the South out, and they burnt it in the public street, single copy, which they sent back to P What did the Sunday School Union do? a little weak Anti-Slavery Society. No. th ed the evangelical piety of a dozen sects. treasury were poured the resources of half a large denominations. They had, to back them piety of the North. What did they do? Did the Gentlemen, that tract was written twenty it was not written with any view to the and question ; but in the providence of God, fl reached the sinner, and we are bound to thank Go it; and we hope you will lay it to heart, and good use of it '? No; they said, 'Gent' tract was written twenty years ago, with no inter of offending you; if you have any copies of it, an them back to us, and we will burn them; we will be up the stereotype plates, and never print another That is your religion. (Hisses.) Hiss it! certs (Laughter.) You know there was an old Greek. was not by any means a Phidias or Praxitiles, painted something, and had a Greek slave to stand it and say, "This is a horse." Well, we take these ings, and we say, Gentlemen, this thing that would mistake for a fawning time-server is alk Divinity or an American statesman.' That is all say. Mark me ; I claim it seriously for the anti-sh ry cause. You will say we are abusive, fan say we use Billingsgate. We never describela r except in his own words. We have only let each ma each denomination, speak for itself, in its own were Is that unjust? Is it Billingsgate? Is it denuncia ry? We have only let these men speak their own timents, and the moment we repeat them on our pl form, you see their application. The fact is, an Am ican cannot talk politics without making himself ri ulous. John C. Calhoun once said on the floor of Senate-he, the arch-magician of slave logic, There is not a more self-evident principle in the range of axioms, than that what a man digs from oil is his against the world ; ' and he had sirty at home to whom he did not allow it. And when t ill-fated passengers on board the 'Pearl' attempt fice from Washington, what do you suppose in

> believed him! (Applause.) I will not, however, longer exhaust the patie the audience I would move as my resolu move it at the end rather than the beginning of speech-the following :-

them to make the attempt? It was a speech of )

Foote, of Mississippi, on the French Revolution of hi

who said, 'The age of TYBANTS and SLAVERY is ray

drawing to a close, and the happy period to be s

ized by the universal emancipation of man from

fetters of civil oppression, and the recognition, it

countries, of the great principles of popular sover

encing.' Unhappily for these poor men,

ty, equality and brotherhood, is, at this moment,

Resolved, That we reaffirm our original prin and that we reaffirm our conviction, that there probability of achieving this, but by the disaditithe American Union and the remodelling of the American Church. (Applause and hisses.)

At the conclusion of Mr. Phillips's speech, there loud and repeated calls for Mr. Beecher. Mr. GARRISON said that it would afford him and Society great pleasure to hear from Mr. Beecher, if

felt moved to speak. Mr. BEEUHER then rose, amid great applause. SPEECH OF REV. HENRY WARD BEEC

I did not mean to speak, either here or any w during these Anniversary meetings. It is one this however, to resolve to be silent when you are out and another thing to keep your tongue when you inside. Although I don't wish to speak, yet I feel it were, in some sense, wrong to be in a great asse gathered for a common end, and not bear a tes Differing from my friend Mr. Phillips, as I certa do, as to the proper means by which to wage this test, I do most heartily agree as to the great of sought and won. I should feel a sort of guilt, when such an assembly demanded my testino should withhold it; a testimony which I have given will give, so long as God spares my life-a tes which, dying, and in the very presence of God'sthree I could give with greater purity and energy than before, against slavery, as against the abomins Christianity, to its very core. (Applause.) I a agree, in my present state of thought, nor can I honestly that continuous reflection inclines me to a with my friend Phillips. I am always charmed to him speak, and although, to be honest about it, I h to own that, in regard to much that he says, it is to dissent than to answer, yet I must say, there feeling that will not let me come to his ground, the regard to the State or the Church. It may be por dice, or the result of reflection; but so it is. perhaps, more hopeful than he. Surely, I don't pose to myself the idea of a country for ever this dark plague spot. This, to me, would be what a child a mother would be-dearly beloved-whose som, on which his head had been pillowel, was call a cancer. I propose to myself a cou from the Lakes (and peradventure beyond the Gulf of Mexico, and from one ocean to the other nothing smaller than this. But it is to be a land what freedom is not to be a power for the mail slavery. Our liberty must be the foundation of libe to those who are too weak to achieve and to held it themselves. I am ashamed that, with our free p ples and religion, we should have had slavery troduced, for that, peradventure, was beyond on trol-but that it should have grown up like a fun its rapidity, and with the strength and toughne oak, defying the breath of public opinion. ily ashamed of that growth, but still, I do not that it is always to be so. I must say frankly choice were given me to have our land for ever andivided, and great, but slaveholding; or, two, that one half at least should be free; choose dismemberment and liberty, somer the and slavery. But there is something better the It is an undismembered and uncracked Union w any slavery. If our Union is to be the post guardian of slavery for ever, let it perish. If it is the refuge of freedom and the foe of opport stand while the sun shines. Human lik which is greater than all laws and all gove and which gives to these their sacredness and dign Governments and Unions are of value only a

serve God's great design in the enfran moral elevation of the race. Because I believe that government and the union of our States will, erch be a power exclusively for liberty, I stand for the

Through my hopefulness, - and yet not men through hope, but by my faith in Christianity-20, 15 perience gre-before an and oice that this city among t s an earnest has been mu of this great part, I feel a earful. It ountry has policy, with untry. Ti all the power peech. The the United S perpetuation They have

past few year Fugitive Sta far as he pi track of that in its track. wirtually ha elves driver quence of the Norther The relation strons and slave as he cannot forg compacts, n

tion, can e Northern S

slave, and

cape, as he Slave Power the slaves upon the al Then in be suppress lock the lip the limbs o give peace the slaveho the wicked silence the Lloyd Gar They migh

ture, 'Uncit, send its would be il own consc

Slavery or Lord Gran pascos wit

ago, with no intention any copies of it, send on them; we will break er print another cop .) Hiss it! certainly.
was an old Greek, who
lias or Praxitiles, who
reck slave to stand by ell, we take these my this thing that you ne-server is a Doctor of man.' That is all we usly for the anti-clave. busive, fanatical. You ever described a man, ave only let each man, self, in its own word ite? Is it denunciate ent them on our plan The fact is, an Ame making himself ridie of slave logic, sais principle in the who t a man digs from the nd he had sixty me vit. And when the 'Pearl' attempted you suppose indi was a speech of M nd SLAVERY is rani y period to be sign he recognition, in of popular sovere at this moment, visib these poor men, ti haust the patience my resolution-and the beginning of m ur original principle incipation on the solition, that there is by the dissolution delling of the Amer

a's speech, there were ld afford him and m Mr. Beecher, if he reat applause. WARD BEECHER. r here or any where, igs. It is one thin tongue when you go speak, yet I feel as e in a great assemb not bear a testimony hillips, as I certainly ich to wage this con o the great end to a sort of guilt, led my testimony, hich I have given at my life—a testiment, sence of God's throne and energy than er t the abomination Applause.) I canno ought, nor can I sy inclines me to agree ways charmed to conest about it, I have at he says, it is casic must say, there is to his ground, either in h. It may be preju-but so it is. I am, Surely, I don't pretry for ever bearing ne, would be what t pillowed, was caten of country, no less than re beyond them) to ocean to the other is to be a land whose the maintenance foundation of liberty eve and to held it for with our free princihad slavery-not in

ras beyond our con-

n up like a fungus in

and toughness of an

pinion. I am heart-till, I do not believe

say frankly, if the

ding; or, sundered in

, sooner than Union og better than either ocked Union without

to the power and berish. If it is to be of oppression, let it and liberty is that ad all governments, edness and dignity value only as they infranchisement and or believe that our

tates will, ere long.

d yet not merely hristianity—no, not

nity-by my faith in Christ Jesus, the living I do not believe that the half of these United always stand as slaveholding. Christianity many a noble battle against other tyrannies perupt institutions, in other lands and days and by all the victories of the past, I am hope for the future. God, methinks, has e ebler age of Christianity a battle more desn any before : a battle against the power of atest power the world ever saw; and I Gol, that though for a time we may be and for a time there may be timidity, because odlen way, and in a new application of Chriswill be found many persons who wear is of Christianity, that know not the power or hearts, though for a time there may be a the Church, I believe there is to be found renough in the world, in the Church and the Bible and out of it-i. e., in the rethe living heart-and, I had almost said, through the very air, as a Divine Providence, the great organic laws of society, controlling sense of the Church, yea, beating in the veins economy, subtly guiding the common geneof men into a public sentiment, which, in God's me, in spite of recreant clergymen, apostate venal politicians, and trafficking shopmen, mon this vast and unmitigated abomination, ely crush it. But my earnest desire is that he destroyed by the manifest power of If it were given me to choose whether it destroyed in fifty years by selfish commercial es, or, standing for seventy-five years, be then rit and trophy of Christ, I had rather let it linty-five years more, that God may be honored Mammon, in the destruction of it. So do I hate a I should rejoice at its extinction, even did the end it out, as he first kindled it ; but how much would I see God Almighty come down to shake sth with his tread, to grind all tyrannies and opns small as the dust of the highway, and to take imself the glory ! common saying with some, that Christianity i

of liberty. Christianity in favor of it! Chriss is liberty! There is no true liberty which is the very nature of religion. The man that takes Testament, and reads to me that odious docof devils, that Christianity is the handmaid of does not know one single throb of Christianity, what is its first element. It is liberty. There is er liberty under heaven than that which stands e, and justice based upon love ! God is love, and know we have had dark times, and I have felt,

more keenly than these gentlemen, ashamed of who have, in other respects, great learning, great revered men, who, for the various good they have deserve well of the community-when I have them utter sentiments that are a reproach to ianity. I have felt ashamed to see the principles bristianity, for which I live, defamed by the interas of venerable men; and then to see the youngistry, who are not so tainted, brought into a false ion. I grieve to see it ; but it is not always to be I have a courage not of man in this regard. I behere is rising up, in the providence of God, a aplification of Christianity in the pulpit and the Church than any we have yet seen, and by and r children will stand upon such platforms as this, ions as this, speaking of the past numerrongs done by slavery, and thank God for one Electration of the power of God, through the of Christ, which shall have done that which len could not do, and which the commerce of the y would not do. Nay, that the spirit and power sist was mightier than the Church, and than an ministers ; and again shall be seen the Samen, as once in Jerusalem, driving forth from Temple of this noble and undissevered nation, all in the pulpit, in the Church, and in the State, sell men and women as if they were doves and oxen ; sing it from shame, causing the light of its v ta be to all the earth as when the sun shines upor mountains of darkness, and turns them to morning

Loud calls being made for Mr. Douglass, he came

SPEECH OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

Me. CHAIRMAN, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: till detain this audience but a very few moments with any remarks at this stage of these proceedings. I exsence great pleasure, indeed, in again appearing in andience in the city of New York, at the anevary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. I rethat this Society has again taken its place in this y among the anniversaries of the month. I regard it s an earnest of the future triumph of our cause. There as been much said as to the hopeful and the fearful side this great controversy with slavery. For my own ut, I feel a little of both. I feel hopeful, and I feel arful. It seems to me that the Slave Power of this entry has determined upon a fixed and definite ey, with respect to the colored people of this try. They have determined, in the first place, by the powers they possess, to suppress the freedom of ech. They have determined, in the next place, upon expatriation of every colored man and woman from "United States. They have determined also upon the petuation of slavery forever in the Southern States. by have determined also upon making slavery reed in every State of the Union. The history of the ast few years is not altogether unfavorable to the acplishment of some of these designs. It seems to that Mr. Phillips is right when he tells you that the ugitive Stave Law has succeeded. He is right in so r as he pictures the ruin that has followed in the ack of that inhuman, hell-black law; for there is ruin is track. Hundreds and thousands of free men and men, comfortably situated in these Free States, have smally had their property confiscated and been themsches driven forth as wanderers in the earth, in conence of the passage of that law.

But as to having slavery respected in this country, in is Northern States, that thing cannot be done by law. he relation of master and slave is so inhuman, so monfous and so shocking, that man cannot, uninfluenced direct interest in that relation, look upon the save as he looks upon other species of property. He annot forget that the slave is a man. No laws, no mpacts, no covenants, no enactments, of any descripica, can ever blot out from the moral sense of these orthern States a consciousness of the manhood of the are, and no man can feel, when he sees a slave esup, as he would do if he saw a stray horse. The are Power, however, desire and intend to try to put slaves on a footing with the beasts of the field. Tintend to bring you and me and all of us to look on the slave as a horse or an ox; but it cannot be

Then in regard to the freedom of speech-that cannot ppressed, because it involves a proposition to padbek the lips of the whites, in order that the fetters on is limbs of the slave may be secure. It is done to te peace to slavery. That cannot be done. Peace to reholder! He can have to peace. 'No peace to se wicked, saith my God.' The Slave Power might eace the voice of Wendel! Phillips, or the pen of Win. Garrison. They might blot out our Anti-Slavery ation, in order to give peace to the slaveholder. ey night cut out my tongue, and all our tongues. might gather together all the anti-slavery literaare, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' included, touch a match to send its flames towards the sky, and scatter its ashes the four winds of heaven, and yet the slaveholder rould be ill at ease, (applause); for deep down in his can conscience would come an accusing voice—'Thou art verily guilty concerning thy brother.' (Applause.) Slavery cannot stand. Its character is like that of Lord Granby: 'It can only pass without censure as it pages without observation.' I am fearful; I am hupe-ful. I am distressel, and yet I have faith. I believe

slavery will come down, and I take this great occasion as a proof of the incoming of that day when there shall be no slave, no chain to clank in our ears. (Applause.)

MR. GABRISON-A single word, in parting, to the audience. Our respected friend, Henry Ward Beecher, has given you his idea of Christ as the Redeemer, and not the enslaver of men. It is the Christ whom I love. He has told you that Christianity not only maintains liberty, but is liberty. That is my faith also. Yet,

rious ones. (Applause.) We have proved it to be pos- and manfully resisted its encroachments, is well known

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

common a striking interaction of the common servative character of the principal speakers.

There were Mr. Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Lucy Stone, Abby Kelley, Edmund Quincy, Ellis Gray Loring—the Boston aristocracy of philanthropy—with countenances unchanged, and speech sharpset, with plans as impracticable, ideas as narrow, set, with plans as impracticable, ideas as narrow, and havilities are account intensigntly consider our appearance there as a compromise of principle. We then and there defined our views of the Constitution and the Union; yet not in the spirit of controversy, (for the nature of the festivation of the common set of principals.) and hostilities as virulent as ever. Time, that mellows all things else, has had no effect upon these. The addresses, too, were the same; the rotund and magnificent sentences of Mr. Phillips could be al-most anticipated—so identical in drift and form and spirit with those that year after year have constituted the stock-in-trade of these Anniversaries.
The only novelty of the meeting that would indicate progress, was the loss of Frederick Douglass, and the gain of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. Mr. Douglass is great speech was given to the American and Foreign Society; and Mr. Beecher gave a freshness to the proceedings by one of his stirring genial and popular addresses.

And the following is the testimony of the Boston correspondent of the Cincinnati Christian Press, with an invidence flower fl

and popular addresses.

We have great respect for the sincerity of this worthy little band. Their constancy is heroic for years they have uncomplainingly put their hands in their pockets to sustain Mr. Garrison, the Liberator, the Standard, and to keep up the various pic-nics and meetings by which the historic existence of this body has been periodically made known. Men of wealth as they are, they could give no better evidence of their sinceriry—unless it be, to read the periodicals they support, of which we cannot be sure. But we need not, if we could, As far as Mr. Hale, or Mr. Giddings, or Mr. Mann. we cannot be sure. But we need not, if we could, report their speeches. They are already before the world—and have been for years. It will be enough to say that four addresses were made—by Mr. Garrison, Mr. Quincy, Miss Stone and Mr. Phillips, besides Mr. Douglass and Mr. Beecher's brief remarks. The meeting passed off in an entirely quiet manner, and New York removed something of the disgrace of having once interrupted them by violence.—N. Y. Evangelist.

It is very difficult to satisfy every body. If we com-

The Anti-Slavery party was ably represent-If there is any cause that can stand them

Thristian Inquirer.

What the Inquirer calls 'reckless vituperation,' Mr. Hale possesses one manly trait of character, in particular, which we very highly prize: it is, unfailing his willingness to send, now his mother and anon his criticised or rebuked. He is never irascible, never abu ration, to be successfully denied at this late hour.

that some other prominent Free Soil advocates are not by the manifest power of Christianity. If it were given me to choose whether it should be destroyed in fifty years by selfish commercial influences, or, standing for seventy-five years, be then the spirit and trophy of Christ, I had rather let it linger twenty-five years more, that God may be honored and not mammon, in the destruction of it.'

Now, as so far as this passage indicates a preference that the Abolition of Slavery should be impelled by Principle rather than Interest, Philanthropy rather than Selfishness, Christianity rather than Mampan was beautiful. than Mammon, we heartily agree with it; but if we were required to decide whether Slavery should cease in 1860 through secular and selfish induences, or in 1885 through the influence of Christianity, she would prefer to have the abominations and

THE LIBERATOR. No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, MAY 27, 1853.

THE HALE PESTIVAL A respected correspondent inquires of us, in no fault for entertaining that opinion, I am an 'infidel' in the finding or criticising spirit, but solely to obtain a mor indement of the American Church and the American thorough knowledge of truth and duty- How is it that clergy. And my friend stands an infidel in the same you could consistently partake of a dinner in honor of ategory, for the same reason; because our definition JOHN P. HALE, and as a token of regard and gratitude of Christianity and our estimate of Christ are rejected for his past course and labors in the American Congress, of Christianity and our extension of professing Christians. Our friend while he performed those labors under oath that snoke hopefu'ly in regard to the future, and believed would, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect and that under God we should be one people. But remem- defend the Constitution of the United States-which ber that the Union which he contemplates is not the Union which now exists. He lives in an ideal world, with death, and an agreement with hell? '—&c. &c. and my friend Phillips has been speaking of the actual We answer-for the reason that we gave in the remarks state of things; for we have no Union in reality; Lon- we made on that occasion, that it is both scriptural and estly speaking, we have the overflowing, omnipresent, right to give credit to whom credit, and honor to who omniscient omnipotent Slave Power over us and around us, and nothing else; and this meeting in one half of with the Church or the State,—whether agreeing with our Union is an unlawful meeting, and would subject us us in every position we occupy, or otherwise-exhibits to Lynch law. There is no freedom of speech; there a readiness to jeopard his reputation, pecuniary interest is no common country, no common Constitution; therefore no Union; but it is submission to the Slave Power,
dom, and will not retreat an inch to avoid the sacrifice, the iron sway of the Slave Power over the whole land. | we shall never allow any difference of opinion as to And now, my friends, I will just say, that I rejoice where the principle we adopt in common leads, to make at the great assembly that we have had convened today. It has been an intelligent, it has been an attentive, it has been a very discriminating assembly—hisses

occupancy of a seat in the U. S. Senate, gave the Slave for very wicked sentiments, and applause for very glo- Power much annoyance, boldly unmasked its designs sible once more to lare an anti-slavery meeting in the city of New York, and it is the glory of New York that the fact can now go forth to the world. (Applause.) short time since. Up to this point we could conscien tiously and consistently go; and, moreover, were happy to have an opportunity to express our appreciation his services, to the full extent that justice demanded For the first time in several years, the interesting little clique of the adorers of Mr. Garrison, have favored New York with a meeting. On Wednesday, morning an Anniversary was held at the Chinese Buildings, in presence of a large auditude of the interesting that it is services, to the full extent that justice demanded. As Jesus said of the idelatrous Romish centurion, Verily, I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel, without endorsing his idelatry; so we could unite in commending Mr. Hale for his antience, attracted by the hope of something strange and comical, wherein they were certainly not disappointed. Mr. Garrison presided, of course, and U.S. Constitution. No one at the festival misunderappointed. Mr. Garrison presided, of course, and the proceedings were so like the meetings formerly held as to produce a pleasing antiquarian illusion —and affording a striking illustration of the concould intelligently consider our appearance there as a

'I hear many especial allusions to Mr. Garrison's speech—allusions made because of that gentleman's peculiar position. His tone was liberal and conciliatory. He did not, however, ask any favors. He did not compromise his position—not in the least. He put forth his dismain idea—and he put it forth distinctly. He recognized the distinction between the contract of distinctions.

or Mr. Sumner, or any other public man, has gone in an anti-slavery direction, we have joyfully gone with him, and given him all due credit; and where we have criticised or complained of either of them, it has been

It is very difficult to satisfy every body. If we con mend Mr. Hale or Mr. Giddings, for certain positive The Anti-Slavery party was ably represent-day and uttered the usual amount of indignant eloquence, with the usual alloy of reckless vitupera-tion. We are surprised to find so brave and honor-seeing that they support a pro-slavery Constitution; able a man as Mr. Wendell Phillips repeating a and if we censure them for upholding such a Constitu-calumny against Dr. Dewey, which has been utter-tion, then we are denounced as captious or implacable, ly refuted to the satisfaction of all candid minds.

These men lose with the judicious far more than they gain with the functical by such unjust denunties of the function of their anticles of the function of the satisfaction o upon its own merits, and be advocated by the simple, unvarnished truth, it surely is the cause of a want of clear discrimination, or a morbid state of human freedom against chattel slavery .- New York mind. 'Credit to whom credit,' censure to whom cen-

truth, without regard to persons. As for Dr. Dewey, good temper, whenever, or however, or by whomsoever brother, into slavery, if need be to save the Union, can sive, never malignant. He holds himself amenable to be proved by too many witnesses, who heard his declasonal ill-will to himself as the motive for any impeachment of his course or position, on the part of abolitionists. He understands the spirit by which we are animated—he knows the intentions and aims of such men as Phillips, which—on one point, at least—provoke grave reflection. We have waited, before commenting thereon, for a copy of the remarks which had passed under Mr. Beecher's defiberate revision since its utterance; and such we find in this week's Anti-Stacery Standard. The passage we demur to is as follows:

My convert desire in the Content of Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER, being called out abolitionists. He understands the spirit by which we My earnest desire is that Slavery may be destroyed that some other prominent Free Soil advocates are not

THE BIBLE CONVENTION.

To the Call for this Convention, (which is to be held or in 1885 through the influence of Christianity, we should hesitate, ponder, and wish to 'take the sense' of those in bondage, before agreeing to the twenty-five years' postponement for the glory of Christianity. If they were willing to endure the lash, the coffle and the auction-block for another generation—to have mere infants sold from the mothers' breasts and daughters marketed for shame—till 1885, in order that Christianity might reap the glory of its overthrow, why then we would think about it. Nay, we would still wish to interrogate Ohristianity herself, and learn whether she would prefer to have the about its simply states the undeniable fact, that various widely she would prefer to have the abominations and cruelties inseparable from the ownership of man by man continue a quarter of a century, in order that its overthrow might redound to her own glory. If she would, our estimate of her character would be community, and cordially invites to a free conference of the control of the state of the authenticity, divinity and authority of the Bible are honestly entertained in the community, and cordially invites to a free conference of the control of the state of the authenticity, divinity and authority of the Bible are honestly entertained in the community, and cordially invites to a free conference of the authenticity, divinity and authority of the authorit be somewhat lower than it has been. Most certainly, the Parable of the Good Samaritan would not have been improved by a supplementary regret that the man who tell among thieves had not lain mangled and bleeding half a day longer until some Priest or Levite had come along who would have had compassion on him.—N. Y. Tribune. from attending the Convention-with what success, the RHODE ISLAND CONVENTION. - The Temperance sequel will show. For one, it will stimulate us all the Rhode Island Convention. — The Temperance women in this State, are soon to hold a Convention for the purpose of choosing delegates to the World's convention, to be held in New York, on the sixth day of September next, and to act upon other business connected with the Temperance cause. Men are not excluded either from the Convention or from the platform. Doubtless these Temperance women are not excluded either from the Convention or from the platform. Doubtless these Temperance women are of opinion that men have as valid a right to speak and to act in behalf of this cause, as they will abandon the reform, even if half the men in the State should come forward and claim the right to work also. —R. I. Freeman.

Sequel will show. For one, it will stimulate us all the more to be present, as we certainly intend to be. None but the consciously corrupt, or the dastardly in spirit, or the dastardly in spirit, or the besetted in mind, will be afraid to come together, that we may sit down like breth-on a coasion so interesting and so important. If the Bible is the word of God—if every portion of it be divinely inspired—if it be the only rule of faith and practice—surely, it will not only bear the most search of the states, we tender him the unfeigned homage of grateful hearts, bidding him welcome, thrice welcome to the slave, we tender him the unfeigned homage of grateful hearts, bidding him welcome, thrice welcome to the slave, we tender him the unfeigned homage of grateful hearts, bidding him welcome, thrice welcome to this gathering of Freedom's votaries, appreciating his presence among us as ominous of that 'good time coming' when the soil of Republican America will not be trodden by a tyrant or a slave.

Resolved, That whatever difference of opinion may exist between anti-slavery friends as to the right land or the root of sex, color, seet or party, to come together, that we may sit down like breth-on an occasion of that 'good time coming' when the soil of Republican America will not observed the singular properties o

general invitation to discuss its merits, is to evince childish folly or conscious insecurity. Our belief is, South; the former the promulgator of the doctrine of that the more intelligently the Bible is understood, the better it will be appreciated, and the more effective it dorser, in the unconditional liberation of his own slaves, will be in promoting the elevation of mankind. As for the veneration which is every where expressed for it, we tion to all who are pining in bondage at the South. know it to be hollow and worthless; for what can be more preposterous, or more condemnatory, than thisfor a people to make it a penal offence to circulate among three millions of benighted souls on their own soil, a book which they declare to be the inspired word.

Monte planing in coolange at the condensation.

Lewis Hayden favored the meeting with some very interesting reminiscences of Cassius M. Clay, during the several scenes connected with his emancipation acts in their native Kentucky.

Remarks were also made by John T. Hilton, Robert M. Clay, and other condensation and the condensation which they declare to be the inspired word. of God, and able to make those who peruse its pages MORRIS, WILLIAM J. WATKINS, T. D. WARD, and othwise unto salvation'? True, the American clergy, as ers, all joining in expressions of high gratification at a body, are ready to swear by it; true, they have faith meeting their honored friend from Kentucky, who had in the volume, but only as it subserves their own selfish interests; and they accept it mainly because public

The Resolutions were adopted by acclamation, and opinion sets strongly in that direction. No class of Mr. CLAY, on retiring, was greeted with three times men understand it less intelligently. Until it be res-cued out of their hands, and treated precisely like any him, and shaken with a fervent good will, and many an other book, accepted for what it is worth, according to eye beamed the heart's own thankfulness, while the lips its own intrinsic value, -no matter when it was com- gave utterance to sincere aspirations for his continued piled or by whom it was written,-it will be used by prosperity and happiness. them as a most potent weapon to perpetuate the reign of superstition and to retard the progress of our race. tokens of abundant satisfaction from the audience. Let them come forward at the Convention, if they are really sincere and honest men, and show by their speech and conduct that they are both able and willing to give a reason for the faith to which they cling; or else forever after hold their peace!

WELCOME TO CASSIUS M. CLAY.

Belknap Street Church was crowded to its utmost capacity by those who, having heard the name of Cassus At an early hour on Monday evening, May 9th, the sembled to greet him face to face.

The following gentlemen were duly appointed officers of the meeting :-

Lewis HAYDEN. President.

Perkins, Rev. Leonard Grimes, Robert Morris, J. Locklev Marshall, Vice Presidents. Wm. C. Nell and Wm. J. Watkins, Secretaries. The exercises commenced with an eloquent and very ly settle down amid the peaceful haunts of natur

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON was introduced to the audi-obliged to leave his home and all that is dear to him

following is an epitome of his remarks, which elicited is a sacrifice too hard, although borne by him with much applause throughout :-This is to me-to us all-a most unexpected pleasure. England at the time of his departure?-he who has

to express to him your sense of gratitude. It is honor- Our mother country, although prolific in great and able to him that he so promptly accepted your invita-tion, to be here this evening. good men and women, of whom she may well be proud, has none more deserving of her appreciation, or who tion, to be here this evening.

Born and educated in the midst of slavery, it is not have done more for her sons and daughters, than Will credit, that, in spite of his educational training and a slave of ours, have ever found firm and constant friend murderous pro-slavery public sentiment, he gave un-conditional freedom to all his slaves, and from that hour Mr. Howitt, with his wife and their children, happily proclaimed eternal hostility to the slave system. You situated in the home of his childhood, amid the scene

What a broad contrast does his manly conduct exhibit That he may safely return from this new scene of hi living Fillmore! It is the fulfilment of the scriptural to which he is so well entitled, is undoubtedly the declaration, 'The first shall be last, and the last first.' heartfelt wish of thousands on both sides of the water Verily, they have had their reward, and he shall have Mr. Clay claims to be loyal and true to Kentucky.

He is so; in seeking to bring slavery to an end, he is her greatest benefactor. They who resist him, on her he received intelligence through the 'spirits,' some posterity will decide. May he live to see the desire of nis heart accomplished!

We also claim to be no less interested in the welfare

of the South, and desirous of her peace. Intense abhorrence of slavery is not only compatible with love to the slaveholder, but the best evidence of it. It is his repentance, not his destruction, we are seeking. No vindictive feelings are cherished by yourselves or by the abolitionists. To this remarkable fact, I am ready to hundreds of fugitive slaves, some of them with their backs scarred all over with the lash, I have never yet seen one whose talk was of revenge, or who wished for an opportunity to shed the blood of his oppressor. But they all desire to be free, and ask for nothing more, for the jubilee !

'Speed, speed the hour, O Lord! Speak, and at thy dread word, Fetters shall fall From every limb—the strong
No more the weak shall wrong,
But Liberty's sweet song
Be sung by all!'

The President, in a few well chosen words, introduced with the most enthusiastic demonstrations—the wav- to defer it till next week. ing of handkerchiefs and cheer upon cheer for Cassius M. CLAY, the pioneer of Kentucky emancipation.

After acknowledging the gratification he felt in thus

them to acquire money, as an instrument of salvation Wednesday, by an increased majority. from the disabilities that surrounded them, and citing encouraging examples of its potency in advancing the welfare of those who otherwise would always have held a subordinate place in society.

he owed to his native State, Kentucky, and the General will come of it ! Government, and affirmed that his regard for their prosperity and permanence had prompted his every effort in the cause of emancipation.

that he had addressed them as fellow-citizens, and character. A full report hereafter. should bear away with him a grateful recollection of the evening's interview.

WILLIAM C. NELL presented the following resolu-

Whereas, we deem this a most auspicious occasion Whereas, we deem this a most auspicious occasion—
a golden hour, fraught with grateful recollections of the
past and inspiring hopes for the future—we cannot
forego the pleasing duty of giving utterance to the emotions now stirring within us; "therefore,

Resolved, That we, the nominally free colored Amersachusetts, Anti-Slavery Society, will speak in SPRING-icans, and those who have been redeemed from slavery, here, in one fraternal union, pour forth our libation of on Monday evening, May 30. here, in one fraternal union, pour forth our libation of gratitude to the honored and distinguished guest of this evening, Cassius M. Clay, Esq., of Kentucky, who, for daring to do right when the multitude would do wrong—or, in his own expressive diction, because he would give a man his own wife, the father and mother the control of their own children, the child the protection of its parents, and man the fruits of his own labor; who, for impartially applying the Golden Rule, became the victim of complicated and prolonged persecution in his native Kentucky. For his firmness of purpose and the victim of complicated and prolonged persecution in his native Kentucky. For his firmness of purpose and faithfulness in this his chosen mission of giving freedom to the slave, we tender him the unfeigned homage of grateful hearts, bidding him welcome, thrice welcome to this gathering of Freedom's votaries, appreciating his presence among us as ominous of that 'good time coming' when the soil of Republican America will not coming' when the soil of Republican America will not complete the soil of Republican America will

Rome. To manifest signs of terror or displeasure at a liberty, and that is, the Union of William Lloyd Gar-

The meeting adjourned amid music by the choir, and LEWIS HAYDEN, Chairman

WM. C. NELL, WM. J. WATKINS, Secretaries. BOSTON, May, 1853.

WILLIAM HOWITT-AUSTRALIA. Why is WILLIAM HOWITT in Australia? This is a

question which every lover of his rich and valuable lit M. CLAY associated with great and noble deeds, had asapparent to need much cogitation. The great losses he met with in his unfortunate connection with the publication of the ' People's Journal' are generally known to the friends of Mr. and Mrs. Howitt, and from this direful event no doubt may be traced the primary cause, Rev. T. D. Ward, John T. Hilton, Charles Lenox Re-of this gentleman's expatriation. When I first learned mond, Joshua B. Smith, Rev. J. T. Thompson, N. L. that Mr. Howitt was in Australia, my whole heart was aroused in sympathy, that one so noble-hearted, so attached to all that is true and beautiful in his own country, and at a time of life, too, when a man would gladappropriate prayer by Rev. T. D. WABD, after which that such an one—and such is Mr. Howitt—should be ence, and welcomed with three hearty cheers. The in this life, to seek the means of support for his family, nable spirit. Where was the protecting genius of

We have all heard of Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, done so much for the cause of humanity, so much to but now our eyes behold him. It is natural, and highly cultivate a taste for the poetry of life, and to inspire the commendable, that you, whose cause, in common with rising generation with that love for rural life and home all in bonds, he has so fearlessly espoused, should desire pleasures, for which thousands are indebted to him? very surprising that, for a time, he should have held LIAM and MARY HOWITT. In them, too, the poor and property in slaves. But it redounds all the more to his oppressed in their own land, and the down-trodden know what he has sacrificed and what he has perilled. so charmingly described in the 'Boy's Country Book. to the trimming sycophancy of a defunct Webster or a much-varied life, to enjoy the peace and happiness

AN INQUIRY.

Please ask Henry C. Wright what has become of the information relative to the death of his brother, of which time since, and promised to inform us whether it proved to be correct. Several of your readers have anxiously looked for the statement of the result, and begin to think it is like John's beer, 'long a coming.'

A SUBSCRIBER

THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN. We understand that there will be a hearing before the Suffrage Committee of the Convention, on the petition of Mrs. Alcott testify—that though I have seen and conversed with morning, Friday, May 27th, at 8 o'clock, and it is expected that Lucy Stone, Wendell Phillips, T. W. Hig-

A most timely and admirable Essay on ' Woman and ister of the Worcester Free Church, has just been pul lished by Robert F. Wallcut, 21 Cornhill. It is dedicated to the Members of the Constitutional Convention.

A Letter has been received from Hon. Horace MANN, giving his views of the ballot-box and the ballot; but the pre-occupancy of our columns by the speeches delivered at the anniversary of the American A. S. Society at New York, (to a careful perusal of which ed the guest of the evening, who, on rising, was greet- it is unnecessary to urge our readers,) we are obliged

On Tuesday last, the Massachusetts House o Representatives rejected, by a vote of 115 to 111, a remeeting the friends in Boston, and the evidences fur- solve on its passage to be engrossed, appropriating ten nished him of their progress in the scale of humanity, thousand dollars for the erection of a statue to the memand their appreciation of efforts for the redemption of ory of Daniel Webster. If it had been adopted by the their brethren, and the elevation of bond and free to Legislature, an earthquake outbreak of moral indignathe rights and responsibilities of good citizens, he pro-tion would have been felt throughout the Common ceeded to impart many useful suggestions on the means wealth. Judas Iscariot and Benedict Arnold are jus of improving their mental, moral and civil condition; as deserving of a statue as Daniel Webster. A motion dwelling at some length upon the duty devolving upon to reconsider the vote was rejected in the House, on

Do not fail to read the proceedings of the Temperance Convention, held during the anniversary week in New York, in the course of which the richest devel-In speaking of the institution of slavery, and his opments of priestoraft and sectarism were made, in refhopes of its abolition, he acknowledged the allegiance erence to the temperance equality of women. See what

The meetings of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, on Wednesday, were very fully attended, On taking leave of his audience, Mr. CLAY remarked and the discussions of a highly interesting and vital

SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Mass. A. S. Society, will speak at WEST NEWTON, on Thursday evening June 2d.

PARKER PILLSBURY, an Agent of the Mas-

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For the Liberator. ELIZA AND THE SENATOR'S WIFE.

POETRY.

A Sketch from ' Uncle Tom's Cabin.' It will be remembered by all the readers of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' (and who is not one of them?) that Eliza, on her way to Canada, stopped at the house of Senator Bird; and how that worthy man, who had been so zeal-Bird; and how that worthy man, who had been so zealous an advocate for the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill, found it exceedingly difficult to practise the doctrines he advocated in theory; and that after deciding to act as his conscience told him was right, he said to his wife, as he left the room to order his carriage, 'Mary, I don't know how you'd feel about it, but there's that drawer full of things—of—of poor little Henry's'; then the touching description of the wife and mother, so handling over the sacred repository which contained the clothes belonging to her lost darling, she selected therefrom a bundle for Eliza's child:—

'Mrs. Bird slowly opened the drawer. There wer little coats of many a form and pattern, piles of aprons, and rows of small stockings; and even a pair of little shoes, worn and rubbed at the toes, were peeping from the folds of a paper. There was a toy horse and wagon, a top, a bull,—memorials gathered with many a tear, and many a heartbreak.'

The following thoughts were suggested by reading the touching scene from which the above is an extract :--Yes, take those treasured relics which once my darling

In the home where now he's dwelling, he'll never nee With selfish love no more I'll hoard these tokens of th

past, For my weak heart is stronger now, and I have looked

With all a mother's love and pride, those infant robes

wrought; To deck my darling's cherished form with anxious can

How swiftly flew the moments then, with Henry at my Or his soft arms around my neck at quiet eventide !

This cap-its silken folds lay soft upon his sunny hair, And lightly prest the soft brown curls, shading his

This shoe his tiny foot has prest with footstep light and As bounding o'er the nursery floor he laughed in child ish glee.

This little frock of cashmere soft, with silken 'broidery With the warm cloak that oft he wore, I sacredly have

kept; They seemed of Henry still to speak, and in that trea

His baby playthings all are laid-the rattle, ball, an

This little sled, and tiny cart, with blocks and marble piled, Will please thy boy, and he will smile as once my dan

ling smiled; Take them, Eliza, they are thine; and when, in infar Thy Harry's joyous voice is heard, and thou art safe

and free-Then tell him of the Angel-child, whose playthings one

they were, And how he sweetly lived and died, ere sin he knew, o

Teach him, Eliza, to be true-tell of that ' better land, Where none shall tremble 'neath the lash, nor feel th' oppressor's hand. Oh! 'tis a joy to know that there, men are not bought

That none the bondman's soul may buy, for silver for gold :

No law can bind in fetters there, or veil of truth the light, Which in the blessed Eden-land dawns on the slave dark night.

Oh! when beside my Henry's grave last night I knelt to pray, And bitter tears fell on the turf that covered his cold

I felt e'en then my lot were blessed while standing by that grave,

Compared with hers whose child still lives, and, living. is a slave! But, Heaven be praised! thy bright-eyed boy I trust

thou yet wilt save : And may the North Star guide thee safe where Freedom's banners wave!

Its ample folds will shelter thee, -nor question of thy Oh, shame ! that yet our stars and stripes such querie should disgrace.

Columbia! shall thine Eagle proud its pinious fold in While to his eyrie 'mid the clouds, Oppression's cry

Oh ! cross no more th' Atlantic wave, wronged Europe sons to save. While all our South-land loudly tells of thy high trus

betrayed ! And now, Eliza, fare thee well! God speed thee on thy

Bright Hope shall nerve thy weary foot, and cheer the with its ray; And may thy brave, bright boy long live to cheer thy

One kiss for little Henry's sake-then, Harry, we me part! BARRE, Mass.

From the Boston Christian Register.

VIA CRUCIS. VIA LUCIS.

Through night to light !-- And though to mortal eyes Creation's face a veil of horror wear, Good cheer ! good cheer ! the gloom of midnight fli Soon shall a sunshine follow, mild and fair. Through storm to calm !- And though his thunder car

The rumbling tempest drive through earth and sky, Good cheer ! good cheer ! the elemental war Tells that a blessed, healing hour is nigh. Through frost to spring !- And though the biting blast

Of Euros stiffen nature's juicy veins, Good cheer! good cheer! when winter's wrath is past Soft murmuring spring breathes softly o'er the plains

Through strife to peace ! And though with bristling front A thousand frightful deaths encompass thee, Good cheer ! good cheer ! bear thou the battle's bru For the peace march and song of victory.

Through sweat to sleep !- And though the sultry noc With heavy, drooping wing, oppress thee now, Good cheer! good cheer! the cool of evening soon Shall lull to sweet repose thy weary brow.

Through cross to crown !-- And though thy spirit's life Trials untold assail with giant strength, Good cheer ! good cheer ! soon ends the bitter strife, And thou shalt reign in peace with Christ at length.

Through woe to joy !- And though at noon thou weep, And though the midnight find thee weeping still, Good cheer | good cheer ! the Shepherd loves his sheep Resign thee to the watchful Father's will.

Through death to life !-- And through this vale of tear And through this thistle field of life, ascend To the great supper, in the world whose years Of bliss unfading, cloudless, know no end.

EVENING

A paler shadow strews Its mantle o'er the mountains ; parting day Dies like the dolphin, whom each pang imbues With a new color as it gasps away, The last still loveliest, 'till-'tis gone

# SELECTIONS.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

HORACE MANN'S LETTER.

The letter from Mr. Mann, which we publish, probably closes his discussion with Mr. Phillips, the latter having very properly declined further controversy with an opponent who has persisted in evading the real question of debate, and has constantly disregarded the plainest obligation of courtesy in his language and bearing. We have published this controversy entire—as none of the Free Soil papers have done—to the exclusion of our usual variety of matter, that we might do impartial justice to both parties. We also wished to give Mr. Mann the opportunity of stating to our readers his views of the Constitution, and other points of difference between himself and the nonvoting abolitionists. In this desire we have been disappointed, as he has preferred to spend his columns in angry criminations and virulent personalities, instead of frankly meeting the question to which Mr. Phillips vainly labored to bring him.

But this is not our only or worst disappointment in this discussion. We confess with painful regret that our admiration for Mr. Mann has received a severe shock from his own hand. We believe that he has injured himself in the eyes of candid men, as Mr. Phillips could never have injured him. He now needs a defense against his own letters, not excepting this last, more than he did against those criticisms of Mr. Phillips, under which he first forgot his dignity and lost his temper. No testimony but his own act could have convinced us that Hor-

of letters has seemed to us as wanting in frankness and fair-dealing as they are in the courtesy either of the Christian or the gentleman. They are full of evasions and logical quibbles, of appeals to prejudice, of special pleading and the shifts of an advocate determined on victory at any cost; while from their tone his readers might almost suspect that he had borrowed his style from his Southern opponents in Congress, during the past four years. If Mr. Mann does not live to repent of this unfortunate controversy, his friends will do it for him.

For one result of it in his behalf, and in behalf of the people of color, we are cleal; that he had safessed with other ladies who were present. For one result of it in his behalf, and in behalf of the people of color, we are glad; that he has publicly avowed his hostility to the cruel system of colored, or caste schools, in some of the large towns of Massachusetts. Mr. Mann may now be assured ladies who accompanied her were, Miss Mary E. Rich, Miss Emily Clark, of Le Roy, N. Y.; Miss that no abolitionist will mistake or misstate his anthony, of Rochester; Mary Vaughan, Oswego; views on that subject. Had he been equally frank ten years ago, he might have saved himself the vere accompanied by several of the opposite sex, and have won most cordial praise in their stead. We wish he had spoken as plainly of his relations of Mrs. Fowler: to the pro-slavery clauses of the Constitution. We have carefully read the fifteen columns of his four have carefully read the fifteen columns of his four letters, to ascertain his views upon that matter—the real point at issue between him and Mr. Phillips—but we are no wiser than we were at the beginning. He has played about the subject on every side with wonderful adroitness and dexterity; he has shown no lack of smartness or wit; he has shown no lack of smartness or wit; he has shown to be a shown to be ingenious retorts upon the subject, but only to mystify it and conceal his own position. After all this, he tells us he has not evaded the question, but this, he tells us he has not evaded the question, but has only been disposing of 'preliminaries,' and maks Mr. Garrison to give him the space to state his views on the subject at issue. After those fifteen columns of 'preliminaries,' without one line in answer to Mr. Phillips's repeated questions on this point, and in view of his offensive personal rudeness toward Mr. Phillips, and his sensitiveness at a word of comment from Mr. Garrison, this request tribes us as somewhat extraordinary, and it will be a somewhat extraordinary. strikes us as somewhat extraordinary, and it need an extraordinary generosity to grant it. We should like to know of the Free Soil paper which would extend such a privilege to any non-voting abolitionist, under similar circumstances.

abolitionist, under similar circumstances.

Of the grounds of Mr. Mann's original complaint, we have a word to say. He constantly and ungenerously insinuates that Mr. Phillips has been moved by personal hatred in his course toward him. We can assure Mr. M. that Mr. P. was by no means alone in his views of his (Mr. M's) position. The criticisms of his January speech, which led to this controversy, were but an eloquent expression of the convictions of all or nearly all intelligent non-voting abolitionists, and were acknowledged just by very many anti-slavery voters. To these convictions they had been refuctantly forced by Mr. Mann's public action and speeches. If they were mistaken—as we are by no means controlled to the convictions of the conviction of the conviction of the world had to be represented, if they desired it understood that this was a 'World's Temperance Convention, of the world had to be represented, if they desired it understood that this was a 'World's Temperance Convention, of the convention of the world had If they were mistaken—as we are by no means convinced—it was not through the blindness of personal hostility toward him. They were his friends, as a gentleman or as a lady, but as a friend of temsonal hostility toward him.

They honored him for his courage and eloquence in defence of the oppressed, against the insolent and arrogant Slave Power; while they regretted and arrogant Slave Power; while they regretted his mistakes of principle and policy, the more that his influence would give them a kind of sanction and authority with many anti-slavery people. Hence the more pressing necessity that those errors a very active member, and did a great deal to bring his influence would give them a kind of sanction and authority with many anti-slavery people. Chairman—I should Hence the more pressing necessity that those errors be exposed, and the less excuse for the suspicion that personal hostility prompted the exposure.

Fidelity to the slave, and the principles on which alone we must rely for the slave's deliverance, re
Mr. Chairman, (cries of 'Order!' Sit down!')

some specimens of the unfairness of assertion, the shifting of issues, the quibbles and flimsy sophisms in argument, which characterize this last letter, as discreditable to him as a logician, as its ungenerous spirit and rude personalities are to him as a courtle.

(\* Order! ' from different parts of the room, an cries of 'We don't want to hear your remarks.' I hope that gentlemen will allow me to express my opinions, as I only take the liberty to express my views.

Rev. Dr. Hewitt here rose to order. discreditable to him as a logician, as its ungenerous spirit and rude personalities are to him as a gentleman. His paragraphs touching the Blind Institution, the Normal School conversation, the 'Codification of the School laws,' his action as Secretary, and Father Mathew and Kossuth, with others that we need not designate, are dexterous dodges and quibbles. His flourish of trumpets about his 'cruel punishment' to Mr. Phillips is ludicrous. After all that he has said of the matter of 'Jesuitism,' we think his language on the construction of an punishment' to Mr. Phillips is ludicrous. After all that he has said of the matter of 'Jesuitism,' we think his language on the construction of an coath fully justifies Mr. Phillips's comment upon it. In its connection, we cannot see how any intelligent reader could avoid the same conclusion. His argutory construction, and the motion, amid much confusion and alternate cries of 'Order!' 'Hear her!' 'Hear reader could avoid the same conclusion. His arguments on 'tax-paying' and 'women's voting' confound the simplest distinctions of common sense, distinctions recognized by men of every class, and which no ingenuity can conceal. Indeed, we have read the whole letter with wonder that the author of those masterly arguments against Slavery in the District of Columbia, and the Fugitive Slave Law, and the Replies to Daniel Webster, could have nublished to such interruptions as these.

Mr. Wood—I move that we adjourn, if we are to applicated to such interruptions as these. District of Columbia, and the Fugitive Stave Law, and the Replies to Daniel Webster, could have penned it, and more that he could have published penned it, and more that he could have published be subjected to such interruptions as these.

Mr. Wheeler, of New York—I move that we of the country of the coun that the reader, after closing it, shall turn and re-

forborne comment, save a passing word, but we without the consent of the Convention.

Mr. Armstrong, of Saratoga, wished to know if stating some of the impressions we had received this Convention was to be considered a delibera-

Horace Mann and Wendell Phillips have telling truth about each other in Garrison's The latter has at length backed out, intimating through an editorial of Mr. Garrison, that he intends making 'no further replication to any thing Mr. Mann may say.' Now this, it seems to us, is not in keeping with the character of a true Abolitionist. The crisis demands courage, perseverance and plainness of speech; in other words, 'calling things by their right names.' We really hope that Mr. Phillips will reconsider his purpose, and give Mr. Mann a few more shots under the 5th rib. Mann deserves it; and will give Phillips no more than he deserves in return. We Phillips no more than he deserves in return. We Phillips no more than he deserves in return. We Phillips no more than he deserves it good. der the 5th rib. Mann deserves it; and will give the first rib. Mann deserves it and will give the first rib. Mann deserves it and will give the first rib. Mann deserves it and will give the first rib. Mann deserves it and will give the first rib. Mann deserves it and will give the first rib. Mann deserves it and will give the first rib. Mann deserves it; and will give the first rib. Mann deserves it; and will give the first rib. Mann deserves it; and will give the first rib. Mann deserves it; and will give the first rib. Mann deserves it; and will give the first rib. Mann deserves it; and will give the first rib. Mann deserves it; and will give the first rib. Mann deserves it; and will give the first rib. Mann deserves it; and will give the first rib. Mann deserves it; and will give the first rib. Mann deserves it; and will give the first rib. Mann deserves it; and will give the first rib. Mann deserves it return. We their own sphere.

Mrs. Foster was about to reply, and was opposed, when Mr. Higginson again rose to press his motion, and moved that it be adopted.

The wit of the Journal of Commerce is excru ing. Our paper, forsooth, is the 'Lie-be-rater.' Very good and very true, and therefore very creditable. To 'berate' a 'lie' is to anathematise and scout it:

WORLD'S TEMPERANCE CONVEN-TION.

excepting this list, more than he did agreed the criticisms of Mr. Phillips, under which he first forgot his dignity and lost his temper. No testimony but his own act could have convinced us that Horace Mann could pen a series of letters so unworthy of him in temper, in language, and in argument.

However the partialities of different readers may incline them toward Mr. Phillips's position or Mr. Mann's, (if they are shrewd enough to guess what is his position,) no unprejudiced mind can fail to mark the contrast between their letters in spirit and tone. Mr. P. has borne himself throughout with his accustomed dignity and courtesy of manner, clearness and force of argument, and honest frankness of statement. Gladly would we be able to say the same of Mr. Mann. We have endeavored to read his letters without prejudice, and to give him the full benefit of every statement and argument bearing in his own favor, but his whole series of letters has seemed to us as wanting in frankness and fair-dealing as they are in the courtesy either of the above-named committee.

Dr. Hewitt hereupon arose and said, that in ceration parts of the country, women had received a good deal of celebrity and notoriety. He did not mean to disparage them; but it was quite sufficient for his purpose merely to state, that he was not repared to give to women that prominent place in arranging the affairs of mankind which hitherto was the province, and was given to others. It was the province, and was given to others. It was the province, and was induced to take the stand he was determined on in relation to the subject now before the Convention. His years, and the place he had occupied in the great work of temperance, betrayed some of the relics of a former age; and he was not prepared to acquiesce in any unit with the above-named committee.

Dr. Hewitt hereupon arose and said, that in ceration parts of the country, women had received a good deal of celebrity and notoriety. He did not mean to disparage them; but it was quite above-named committee.

The other document read as follows:

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the 'Wo-

S. B. ANTHONY, Sec'y Woman's State Temperance Society The question on Mr. Higginson's motion to receive the name of Miss Anthony was then put from the Chair, and negatived.

perance, and that Committee is not a fair representation of the friends of Temperance, when you exclude women, who have attended here in compliance with your call.

quired that exposure.

Had we room and were it necessary to dissipate the dust-cloud that Mr. Mann raises around himthe dust-cloud that Mr. Mann raises around him('Order!' from different parts of the room, and

that the reader, after closing it, shall turn and re-peruse Mr. Phillips's letter, which it professes to floor while speaking. I also move that no speaker

tive body, or a delegated body! The Chairman referred to the minutes,

requisition calling the meeting was at the sam time read, showing that the friends of temperane were invited, upon which other names were

The Committee who had been appointed to amine the credentials of delegates, hereupon re-turned from their deliberations, and presented their hence our frequent scourging of the J. of C. for its un-servoulous mendacity.—E4. Lib.

'Bloomer Delegation.' This gave rise to a second

'Bloomer Delegation.' This gave rise to a second debate, more exciting by far than the first, and brought Mr. Higginson again to the floor. He said the committee had excluded the names of several ladies, and he wished to know the particular ground. He supposed the design was—

Mr. Peck, (the Chairman of the Committee)—
The grounds we took were, to exclude all women.

Mr. Higginson—I know something about this call, as it originated by a resolution from myself, which I offered at the Massachusetts State Convection. He continued: He never would have dreamed of setting his hand to pen such a resolution, or propose it, if he considered that women were to be excluded from their meetings. It was not the matter of 'woman's rights' they were considering, or had to consider, at all. It was the question as to whether this was to be considered a meeting of the friends of temperance? Were these women not advocates of temperance? Then why exclude them? Let us but exclude them, and then they have a right—

Mr. Condict, of New Jersey, here rose and called the gentleman to order.

Mr. Readford Wood—I move that the gentleman associated. He was very severe upon the expelled associated. He was very severe upon the

Mr. Condict, of New Jersey, here rose and called the gentleman to order.

Mr. Bradford Wood—I move that the gentleman be heard for five minutes longer.

Mr. Higginson here resumed the floor, and continued: I did not speak at first to this question at all. I have no desire to throw a firebrand into this meeting. I have only made one speech on the 'woman question.' After some further remarks on a point of order, Mr. H. moved to amend the report of the Committee on Credentials.

Chairman—The question before the Committee is, first, shall the report be accepted!

Mr. Fowler, of Utica, then moved the previous question.

Mr. Snow considered it out of order thus to cut off debate. He claimed to be heard for a short time. He would only occupy the floor—

Mr. Fowler pressed his motion.

Chairman—The motion before the Chair is, that they had not come to New York to attend this Convention, but often that Convention, which their names would be found associated. He was very severe upon the expelled ladies, and received warm applause from the majority.

The President of the Convention, (Mr. Barstow.) of Rhode Island, followed in some remarks of equal severity. He referred to 'women in breeches' as a disgrace to their sex, &c. He did not know what such women were good for. He believed they were never productive in anything but mischief. (Laughter and cheers.)

The discussion was here closed by the final withdrawal of Dr. Townsend's motion to pay the expenses of the rejected female delegates.

We have to report a scene not in the programme of this Convention, which occurred after its adjournment, in the open street, at the entrance of the Hall. When we descended the stairs, we found one of the Doctors of Divinity from a distance, and a Doctor of Medicine in this City, who had been a lifeation of members be accepted.

hould be first taken.

The question was then taken, when there ap-

me to a hearing at once, and the gentlemen know it. I don't want to discuss this woman question at all. I want to have that part of the reports of mended as to allow the intentions of the 5000 well and others, to the scene. Some charge was made, by another of the party, against the D. D., which people who met at the Massachusetts Convenpeople who met at the Massachusetts Convention, and who were the originators of this Convention, to be carried out. That Committee wanted but the truth, and they should not send forth a lie before the country. (Confusion, and cries of 'Order!') I only want to have the report amended

Mr. Crampton, (the Secretary)—I should be glad to know, is it to these 5000 persons that we are to attribute the calling of this meeting! ings were out of order. Gentlemen had to bow to

he will of the majority.

Mr. Thompson had no objection to have the majority decide jority decide.

Mr. Wood—The report of the Committee decided that it was not contemplated that women

nay as well at once have a regular 'set to.'

egular business.

The motion prevailed.

Mr. Dow hereupon moved that the report be adopted, and offered a resolution that the Convention meet in this city on the 6th of September next, and that it continue for four days. A Compact of the service of the meeting, but gave way to the Secretary, who read the list of those who had pledged their names to this movement.

Stephen P. Andrews here desired to define his matter of arrangements was then proposed by Mr. position. He would become a member of this Con-D., to consist of one from each State; pending vention, because it was designed to embrace both Mr. Williams, of Massachusetts, moved to strike friend t

out the name of Mr. Higginson. The Rev. Mr. Duffield, one of the Secretaries, was here called upon to offer some remarks. He said he felt particularly unpleasant from the proceedings of the day, and was of opinion that Philadelphia, in the great State of Pennsylvania, would be a far better place to hold the Convention, than

Mr. Snow opposed-New York was designated in the call.

The Chairman sustained Mr. Snow.

Mr. Higginson moved that the excluded mem-

meet at Dr. Townsend's, Broadway, which was carried amid loud applause.

After some informal suggestions as to the efficiency of the Convention's action, Dr. S. P. Townsend, of N. Y., moved that the Convention pay the expenses of the ladies who had been excluded. Cries of 'Order' followed, and a question was raised as to whether the motion had been seconded. It having been decided that the motion was in due form, the Doctor stated, as his reason for making the motion, that these good women had come, some of them, from the Western part of the

Col. E. L. Snow, of New York, followed with some remarks, pointedly condemning the action of the Convention in excluding the women.

Another gentleman, whose name we did not get, complained of their treatment, especially in denying even a respectful hearing to some of the females, and pointed to the self-sacrificing devotion and untiring energy of this class of co-laborers in New York. [Question by some one: 'What has it all amounted to!']

Mr. J. W. Oliver, of New York, begged his friend, Dr. Townsend, to withdraw his motion as not desired by the ladies themselves. Dr. Townsend finally assented, and withdrew his motion, remarking that he had accomplished his purpose, of entering his earnest protest against the outrage which he considered the Convention had committed upon some of the most noble souled co-workers in this cause in the land. Much feeling accompanied this discussion.

Dr. Snodgrass, of Maryland, said he saw no room of the members of the Convention of the members of the Convention have retired from that body, regarding it as false both to the letter and the spirit of the call; the undersigned (consisting in part of such seeding Delevates) would invite those in favor of a World's Convention, which shall be true to its name, to meet in the City of New York on the — day of —, to consider the presence in North America, to make arrangements for a World's Convention in New York during the World's Fair, a meeting assembled in this City on the 12th of May, 1853, which assumed the power to exclude several regularly elected Delegates, because they were women.

Resolved, That a Committee of Correspondence, constitution of the members of the Convention in New York world in the City of New York on the — day of —, to consider the presence in North America, to make arrangements for a World's Convention in New York during the World's Fair, a meeting assembled in this City on the 12th of May, 1853, which assumed the world's Convention.

Resolved, That a Committee of five be appointed to secure the presence of able

Dr. Snodgrass, of Maryland, said he saw no room Dr. Snodgrass, of Maryland, said he saw no room for the fears of some gentlemen as to 'extraneous matters' being introduced by the course he suggested. By granting the sex this 'right,' (if it be proper to speak of granting so clear a right,) all pretexts for 'extraneous topics,' a fear of the introduction of which troubled some of the members, would be taken away. He proceeded to pay a high eulogy to the efficiency of the Temperance women of Maryland, as justifying his opinion that their coöperation should be sought rather than rejected in this respect.

Resolved, That a Committee of Correspondence, consisting of five, be appointed to secure the presence of able speakers and writers, who shall be prepared with addresses and essays for the occasion.

Committee on Local Arrangements—Dr. R. T. Trall, Oliver Johnson, Dr. Or H. Wellington, Lydia F. Fowler, Andrew Lester.

Committee on Correspondence—T. W. Higginson, Wendell Phillips, Elizabeth C. Stanton, Mary C. Vaughn.

Committee on Call—Charles C. Burleigh, Lucy Stone, J. A. Dugdale. in this respect.

Dr. Hewitt quoted from Paul and other Scrip-tural authorities, which he claimed to be against

istener to the discussions within, engaged in an a should be first taken.

A Member—The question on the amendment should be first taken. ciations above reported. The dialogue diabolique we cannot pretend to report. But we heard the D. D. peared ayes 22, nays 36.

Mr. Fowler again rose, and moved the previous question.

Mr. Thompson, of Massachusetts. I appeal from the decision of the Chair. This will entitle

THE SECEDING TEMPERANCE DELEGATES.

A large number of delegates, who withdrew yesterday morning from the Convention held in the Brick Chapel, corner of Nassau and Spruce-sts., met yesterday afternoon at the Water Cure estab-lishment of Dr. Trall, No. 15 Laight-st., at 2 o'clock. There was a large number of persons present—representatives of eleven different States; resent—representatives of eleven different States; among whom were Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Dr. Snodgrass, Lucy Stone, Lydia F. Fowler, Abby Kelley Foster, Susan B. Anthony, Lydia A. Mott, Dr. Henrietta W. Johnson, Rev. T. W. Higginson moved the reading of the call of the meeting. Objected to. The question on the original motion, that the report be adopted, was then put and carried—ayes 34, noes 21.

Mr. Higginson moved that the Convention do adjourn, to meet again at half-past 3 o'clock, P. M. He considered that the meeting in behalf of the world's Convention' had disfranchised half the world by excluding the women. Mr. H. subsequently withdrew his motion.

world by excluding the women. Mr. H. subsequently withdrew his motion.

Mr. Jackson—The gentleman stood up to make a speech, and surely he does not mean to skulk away, and not listen to a reply. (Sensation, and cries of 'Order!')

Dr. Humphrey—Mr. Chairman, I consider this day's proceedings altogether both disorderly and discreaseful—I have never witnessed any thing like to take so conspicuous a part in the proceedings of this meeting, for though the course he had taken was fully justified by his sense of duty, it might possibly embarrass the movement. The temporary Chairman then stated that the first businessed in the proceedings of the sense of duty. Dr. Humphrey—Mr. Chairman, I consider this day's proceedings altogether both disorderly and disgraceful—I have never witnessed any thing like it before.

Mr. Higginson rose to explain.

Mr. Jackson begged pardon, as he misunderstood the gentleman. (Confusion, and loud cries of 'Adjourn!') I move, (continued Mr. J.,) that as the gentleman (Mr. Higginson) has had the floor all the morning, that we adjourn forthwith to Metropolitan Hall, and as there is to be such a scene, we will at come have a greatly test to the morning that we adjourn forthwith to Metropolitan Hall, and as there is to be such a scene, we will at come have a greatly test to the morning that we adjourn forthwith to Metropolitan Hall, and as there is to be such a scene, we will at the morning that we adjourn forthwith the Metropolitan Hall, and as there is to be such a scene, we will at the morning that we adjourn for those men, then signed their names.

Messrs. Wendell Philips and Wm. Lloyd Garrier names, and having business of importance to transact, expressing their regret, withdrew.

Joseph A. Dugdale, Pennsylvania Minister of may as well at once have a regular 'set to.'
(Laughter and applause.)
(Chairman—Does the gentleman (Mr. Higginson)
press his motion to adjourn?

Mr. Higginson, (amid renewed excitement,)—Yes.

Joseph A. Dugdale, Pennsylvania Minister of the Society of Progressive Friends, desired to explain his reason for becoming a member of the Convention, which was, that he thought women were quite as much interested in the Temperance The question was then put, and lost.

The question was the other sex possibly could be. The other Convention took but half the world, this one would embrace the whole

> sexes in it. He desired to be understood as a great friend to Temperance reform, but he did not coin cide with the Maine Law, as he thought that no per son or number of persons had a right to say what he should eat or drink. He would join this Con-

vention, if it was not intended to discuss the Woman's Rights question therein. If he under stood this, he was prepared to give \$25 toward defraying the expenses of this organization.

Abby Kelley Foster now explained that so far as she was concerned, she would have no Woman's Rights question brought into the Convention, although this question was discussed to such an extent

this morning.

Dr. Snodgrass here stated that, after the ladie bers of the Temperance Convention withdraw, and meet at Dr. Townsend's, Broadway, which was carried amid loud applause.

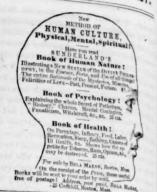
for making the motion, that these good women had come, some of them, from the Western part of the State, and other distant places, to attend this meeting—that they had been outraged as well as deceived by this whole transaction, and that he thought the least thing the Convention could do would be the payment of their expenses.

Col. E. L. Snow, of New York, followed with come remarks pointedly condemning the coirce.

Resolved, That a Committee of Correspondence

A number of speeches followed from Messrs. Hewitt, of Conn., Jackson, Duffield and Chambers, of Penn., Oliver and Wood, of New York, and others whose names we do not now remember, and whose remarks we have no room to report. These gentlemen all defended the action of the Convention.

After the appointment of the above Committee the President announced that on Saturday evening next, a meeting would be held at the Tabernacle, for the purpose of defining Woman's position in the Temperance Reform movement. Miss Lucy Stone, Dr. Snodgrass, and others, are expected to address the meeting. After which announcement, the meeting adjourned. After the appointment of the above Co



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